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Perhaps no people on the face of the earth were ever more deeply imbued with a sense of the necessity of providing for all the children of the community a wholesome education, than the Pilgrims who landed on the rock of Plymouth, and their immediate descendants and successors, the founders of the New England States. They indeed seem, like that Eastern monarch who excelled the age in which he lived in the homely wisdom of common sense, as much as in all the learning of his time, to have regarded the training up of the rising generation in the way they should go, as the only effectual preparation to fit them to walk in the path of virtue. They were not the men to neglect any known duty; and, accordingly, their conduct evinces an anxious determination, from the very first, to bequeath to their posterity, wisdom, knowledge, and virtue, generally diffused, to be the stability of their times, their trust and stay amid all coming dangers. No one who reviews their early legislation can fail to perceive that they regarded Education as the sheet-anchor of the public welfare, the essential security of the highest temporal and eternal interests of the mighty family of nations; in whose majestic march, conquest, and occupation, over this newly discovered continent, God's Providence had ordained them to be the pioneers.

If an undertaking, commenced upon the principles of Anglo-American colonization had totally miscarried, if the various obstacles which the adventurous fathers of the Western world were destined to encounter had for ever frustrated and extinguished their enterprise, it would still have interested us intensely as an object of philosophical curiosity. But, when we know that it has succeeded, and consider the consequences of its success, it stands out in prominent relief above all other facts, the original, peculiar, heaven-directed phenomenon of human history. Love to God and man, freedom, light and progress were the guiding and governing motives of their holy work. When we look back upon

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those chosen instruments of our redemption from the fetters which yet bind speech and action, nay, thought and conscience, in the world from which they came out, their magnanimous purpose, carried into effect as it was, with the stern inflexibility of an abiding conviction of duty, kindles in our hearts a glow of admiration and gratitude. But when we view their great design accomplished, and regard the immensity of its results, the moral grandeur of the spectacle rises to a character of sublimity that can never be surpassed, and can scarcely be paralleled.

A refined civilization, and a superior political organization, at, or near, the close of the present century, will have peopled the States of the American Union with one hundred millions of inhabitants, and children are already born who will live to be the fellow countrymen of more than double that number. Why is it impossible that these hundred, or two hundred millions of human beings should be doomed to live slaves? Because their fathers were educated in freedom. Why is it impossible that they should grovel in sensuality, or debase themselves into a sordid selfishness? Because their fathers were educated in Christianity. Why is it impossible that they should groan in want, dragging out their existence in pauperism and misery? Because their fathers have been educated in the application of the sciences to the useful arts, and in the prudent and wise economy of public and private duty, of social and domestic life.

If confidence animates our anticipations, and hope gilds our prospect, it is because we are educated to the capacity of enjoyment. If a doubt sometimes overclouds the future, it is when the fear steals upon us, — may it prove an idle apprehension, — that we shall not hold true to the trust confided to us, and that the cause of education may suffer in our hands. Should our fortunes come to that issue, we should be left without excuse; the whole world would cry out against us, and we should condemn ourselves, degenerate sons of noble ancestors.

The foundation of the College, and the instruction of all the children in the English tongue, the capital laws, and the grounds and principles of religion, were among the first objects of attention in the Massachusetts colony. In the Colony Laws, under date of 1642, we find the following enactment;

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"Whereas, through the good hand of God upon us, there is a college founded in Cambridge, in the county of Middlesex, called Harvard College, for the encouragement whereof this court hath given the sum of four hundred pounds, and also the revenue of the ferry betwixt Charlestown and Boston; and that the well ordering and managing of the said college is of great concernment; It is therefore ordered, that the Governor and Deputy, and all the magistrates within the jurisdiction, together with the teaching elders of Cambridge, Watertown, Charlestown, Boston, Roxbury, and Dorchester, and the president of the college, shall have power to establish statutes and constitutions for the instituting, guiding, and furthering of the members thereof in piety, morality, and learning, and also to manage the revenues."

In May 1650;

"Whereas, through the good hand of God, many well devoted persons have been, and daily are, moved and stirred up to give and bestow sundry gifts, legacies, lands, and revenues for the advancement of all good literature, arts, and sciences, &c. * * * and for all necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness; It is therefore ordered for the furthering of so good a work, that the college shall be henceforth a corporation, &c."

The act went on to grant sundry exemptions of their lands from taxes, their goods from tolls, customs, and excises, and their servants and officers from civil and military services, watchings, and wardings.

In 1654;

"Whereas we cannot but acknowledge the great goodness of God towards his people in this wilderness, in raising up schools of learning, and especially the college, from whence there hath sprung many instruments, both in church and commonwealth, both to this and other places, * * * fearing least we should show ourselves ungrateful to God, or unfaithful to posterity, if so good a seminary of knowledge and virtue should fall to the ground through any neglect of ours; It is therefore ordered, that one hundred pounds be yearly added to the country rate, to be paid to the college treasurer for the behoof and maintenance of the president and fellows of the college."

Since that time the bounty of the Colony, Province, and Commonwealth, has been extended to our ancient University, in donations of land and money, to an amount far beyond the patronage of any other State of our Union, to any other seminary.

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In May, 1642, the legislature gave their attention to domestic education ;

"Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth, and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in that kind ; the selectmen of every town, in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbours, to see, first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavour to teach, by themselves or others, their children and apprentices, so much learning, as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and knowledge of the capital laws ; upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein.

"Also, that all masters of families do once a week (at the least) catechize their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion ; and if any be unable to do so much, that then, at the least, they procure such children and apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism without book, that they may be able to answer unto the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechism, by their parents or masters, or any of the selectmen when they shall call them to a trial of what they have learned in that kind.

"And, further, that all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling, labor, or employment, either in husbandry or some other trade, profitable for themselves and the commonwealth, if they will not or cannot train them up in learning to fit them for higher employments.

"And if any of the selectmen, after admonition by them given to such masters of families, shall find them still negligent of their duty in the particulars aforementioned, whereby children and servants become rude, stubborn, and unruly ; the said selectmen with the help of two magistrates, or the next county court for that shire, shall take such children or apprentices from them, and place them with some masters for years, (boys till they come to twenty-one, and girls eighteen years of age complete,) which will more strictly look unto, and force them to submit unto government, according to the rules of this order, if by fair means and former instructions they will not be drawn unto it."

And in 1654 ;

"Forasmuch as it appeareth by too much experience, that divers children and servants do behave themselves disobediently and disorderly towards their parents, masters, and governors, to the disturbance of families and discouragement of such

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parents and governors; It is ordered, that any magistrate may sentence the offender to corporal punishment, by whipping or otherwise, not exceeding ten stripes."

Meanwhile other securities had been found necessary. In 1647, was adopted the following provision;

"Whereas, sundry gentlemen of quality, and others, oft-times send over their children into this country to some friends here, hoping (at least) thereby to prevent their extravagant and riotous courses, who notwithstanding (by means of some unadvised or ill affected persons, which give them credit, in expectation their friends either in favor to them, or prevention of blemish to themselves, will discharge their debts) they are no less lavish and profuse here, to the great grief of their friends, dishonor of God, and reproach of the country; it is, therefore, ordered, that credits given to minors should be forfeited, and penalties incurred by minors, by means of their creditors, beyond their own ability to discharge, should be paid by their creditors."

And in 1651;

"Upon information of divers loose, vain, and corrupt persons, both such as come from foreign parts, as also some others here inhabiting or residing, which insinuate themselves into the fellowship of the young people of this country, drawing them both by night and day, from their callings, studies, and honest occupations, and lodging-places, to the dishonor of God, and grief of their parents, masters, tutors, guardians, and overseers; It is ordered, that whoever shall entertain children, servants, apprentices, scholars belonging to the college, or any Latin school, and shall not discharge and hasten all such youths to their several employments and places of abode or lodging, shall forfeit forty shillings, on conviction before a magistrate, or commissioner authorized to end small causes."

The peculiar glory of Massachusetts is, that she led the way in establishing a system of common schools. Not to keep and maintain the schools required by law, has been an indictable offence in Massachusetts, since 1647. The following is an act of that year;

"It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scripture, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours;

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"It is therefore ordered by this court and the authority thereof, that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towns to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns.

"And it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university; and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order."

The religious qualifications of teachers were not overlooked.

"Forasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of this country, that the youth thereof be educated, not only in good literature, but in sound doctrine, the court therefore commends it to the serious consideration and special care of the overseers of the college, and the selectmen in the several towns, not to suffer in the office of instructing youth, any that have manifested themselves unsound in the faith, or scandalous in their lives, and have not given satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."

In May, 1671, the court upon weighty reasons judged meet to double the penalty upon towns of one hundred families neglecting to keep a grammar school. In October, 1683, the court ordered every town consisting of more than five hundred families to set up and maintain two grammar schools, and two writing schools. The Province Law of 1692 reënacted the Colony Laws, except that of 1683.

All these laws were found to be less effectual than the legislators had hoped, and from time to time measures were taken to enforce them. A colony law, reciting the requisition that all children and youth be taught to read perfectly the English tongue, knowledge in the capital laws, some orthodox catechism, and some honest employment, — "the neglect whereof, as by sad experience from court to court abundantly appears, doth occasion much sin and profaneness

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to increase among us, to the dishonor of God, and the encnaring of many children and servants, and is a great dissouragement to those family governors, who conscientiously endeavour to bring up their youth in all Christian nurture, as the laws of God and this commonwealth require;" — orders that it be notified to the selectmen in every town, that the former laws must be obeyed, and directs lists to be made out, and returned to the next court, of all young persons who live from under family government.

In 1702, it was recited, that the school law was shamefully neglected by divers towns, tending greatly to the nourishment of ignorance and irreligion, and the penalty for non-observance of the law was fixed at twenty pounds per annum. It was enacted, that the grammar school-master should be approved by the ministers of the town and the two next adjacent towns, that no minister of any town should be the school-master of the town, and that the grand jurors should present all breaches and neglect of the school laws.

In 1712;

"Forasmuch as the well educating and instructing of children and youth in families and schools are a necessary means to propagate religion and good manners, and the conversation and example of heads of families and schools having great influence on those under their care and government to an imitation thereof; it is enacted, that none shall keep school, but such as are of sober and good conversation, with the allowance of the selectmen, and, if any person shall be so hardy as to set up a school without such allowance, he shall forfeit forty shillings to the use of the poor of the town."

In 1718, it being found by sad experience that many towns, very able to support a grammar school, chose rather to pay their fines, the penalty was raised to thirty pounds on towns of one hundred and fifty families, forty pounds for two hundred families, and in the same proportion for two hundred and fifty or three hundred families.

In 1767, "whereas, the encouragement of learning tends to the promotion of religion and good morals, and the establishment of liberty, civil and religious," school districts were authorized to levy taxes to defray the charges of supporting schools, in addition to the taxes levied by the towns.

In framing the constitution of 1780, the fifth chapter of that instrument was devoted to the University at Cambridge and

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encouragement of literature. The second section of that chapter is in these words.

"Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people; it shall be the duty of legislatures and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interests of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them; especially the University at Cambridge, public schools, and grammar schools in the towns; to encourage private societies, and public institutions with rewards and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry and frugality, honesty and punctuality in their dealings, sincerity, good humor, and all social affections, and generous sentiments among the people."

Under this Constitution our common school system has continued to command the frequent attention of the State Government. June 25th, 1789, an act was passed, consisting of twelve sections, and entitled "an act to provide for the instruction of youth, and for the promotion of good education." This act sets forth, that,

"Whereas the Constitution of this Commonwealth hath declared it to be the duty of the General Court to provide for the education of youth; and whereas a general dissemination of knowledge and virtue is necessary to the prosperity of every State, and the very existence of a Commonwealth; it is enacted, that schools be kept in all towns according to the number of families; and in towns of two hundred families, a grammar school; and it is enjoined on all instructers of youth to take diligent care, and to exert their best endeavours, to impress on the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction, the principles of piety, justice, and a sacred regard to truth, love to their country, humanity and universal benevolence, sobriety, industry and frugality, chastity, moderation and temperance, and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society, and the basis upon which the republican constitution is structured, and to endeavour to lead those under their care into a particular understanding of the tendency of the before-mentioned virtues to preserve and

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perfect a republican constitution, and to secure the blessings of liberty, as well as to promote their future happiness; and the tendency of the opposite vices to slavery and ruin."

Several additional acts were passed, from time to time, the essential provisions of which were consolidated, with some alterations, into the Act of 1826, Chapter 143; and afterwards embodied in the Twenty-third Chapter of the Revised Statutes, on which, with a few short subsequent acts, and the original constitutional provision, the school system of Massachusetts now depends.

It is not to be disguised, that the progress of our Common Schools since the Revolution has not kept pace with the advancement of society generally; but, before proceeding to discuss the present state of the system, its defects and the requisite reforms, we trust our readers will indulge us in a few remarks upon the all-important subject of Education itself; upon which, to avoid tediousness, we promise to be brief.

What is education, such education as deserves the name? Not the getting by rote set forms of words which may be altogether barren of profitable fruit; no, nor barely storing the memory with the information of facts, however extensive and useful. An abundant stock of these, judiciously laid in, may doubtless prove of wonderful advantage in the after occasions of life. But education, truly and faithfully accomplished, is the full and well-proportioned developement of all a man's physical, intellectual, and moral capacities; such as sends him into the conflict of his earthly probation, a sound mind in a sound body, to fulfil the dictates of a sound heart. Training, aptly administered to this end, fosters and confirms all virtuous dispositions, checks and finally eradicates all unworthy propensities. The scholar learns to scorn ignoble objects of pursuit, and wisely bends his undivided energies, with an ingenuous ardor, to effect the liberal purposes of a comprehensive benevolence. He places his supreme happiness in the solid satisfaction of duty well performed. He knows how to choose the right; and, having made his election, his understanding and all his corporeal faculties, operate in their several functions in due subordination to realize his will. He is nerved for the fight, he can breast himself manfully against every assault, he will triumph victoriously over all opposition, for he feels himself strengthened to every

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good word and work, both in the inner and outer man. "I call, therefore, a complete and generous education," says Milton, "that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, all the offices both private and public, of peace and war."

Under such instruction he will grow up to understand and realize his position in the universe, and his relations to his fellow creatures, and what it is incumbent on him to be and to do, by virtue of their mutual dependencies. Society has done much for him. It has raised him above the level of the brutes, and he owes to society a return, — a large return, — vastly more than he can ever pay, though he were a Bacon or a Newton, a Lafayette or a Washington; but his inability to repay all does not release and cancel the debt of gratitude.

There is an indefeasible obligation upon every man to do something for the world he lives in. He should ever bear it on his conscience to discharge this duty. With the blessing of God, he should say to himself, "The world shall be somewhat better that I have lived in it." He who does not say this, in sincerity and truth, is no nobler than the beasts that perish. Morally he is beneath them; for they act up to their light, and feel no responsibility for which they are not ready to give an account, while he lives in the daily sense that his part in the world's work is unperformed. While he yields no fruit, he only cumbers God's vineyard; and, when he is cut down, but few will mourn over him.

Far otherwise is it with him in whose daily meditations philanthropy is ever present as a governing principle. Who are the truly useful? To whom is the world indebted for those magnificent benefactions, which have blessed millions and generations, — improvements in government, advancement in religion, and in civilization? To whom are mankind indebted for the noiseless but resistless progress of good principles, whereby greater changes are effecting in the condition of the whole human family, than have grown out of the efforts of the mightiest conquerors, or than have followed the most renowned revolutions of empire? To those whose moral education has fixed in their hearts permanent and actuating principles of conduct. There have been men of erudition, whose memories were libraries for the singular benefit of their associates, but whose learning died with them. There have been men of forecast and sagacity unsurpassed,

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— our own times have witnessed some of them, — who, having no rule of action except their own immediate advantage, have been governed by circumstances, instead of subjecting circumstances to their own control. But those who are widely and lastingly useful, are the men upon the stability of whose moral character reliance can be safely reposed. With such the sense of duty is habitual; and, therefore, even if they cannot boast of uncommon talents, extensive acquirements, or a broad field of action, still, as all their acts have the same tendency, their influence is always in the same direction; and, operating silently and unseen, is the cause of meliorations in the moral tone of society, perceived after a few years by all, but understood while they are going on only by a few reflecting observers. With such, the performance of duty is pleasant, because all their desires are trained to accordance with the moral sense; and they, therefore, do good naturally, and as of course, with less effort and internal struggle than the bad experience when they do evil.

It has sometimes been strangely questioned, whether a popular sound morality might not be the natural offspring of ignorance and delusion, and whether a refined education did not weaken in the soul the sanctions of religion, and relax those bonds which hold together the compact of society. But were it not blasphemy against the God of truth to doubt, that the illumination of the intellect with the radiance of wisdom infuses into the heart the love of virtue? Goodness is the imprint which the sense of truth stamps indelibly upon the character. All noble thoughts are types of noble action. From the contemplation, to the imitation of ideal excellence, the transition is natural and easy. The divine light of moral science sheds a clear distinctness over our true interests, and shows the path of duty marked in a bold outline. Before its purifying beams, all evil thoughts and low desires vanish as the noonday splendor dissipates the mists of the valley. The well-educated man stands before the world the image of his Maker, having attained as nearly as may be to the perfection of his moral nature. He exhibits not merely a speculative but an active virtue, and all beholders are constrained to confess that wisdom is justified of her children.

If indeed the security of the public morality reposed on the public ignorance, if delusion were the palladium of our well-being, miserable would be the condition of humanity;

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for ignorance is of the earth, earthy, and must soon pass away. But the progress and prosperity of our race rest on no temporary and precarious reliance. When delusion has died of old age, truth will still flourish in eternal vigor. She renews her youth like the eagle. When to mortal eyes she appears vanishing for ever, behold, like the young sun rejoicing in his course, she rises again. She is not of created things, and is therefore exempt from their destiny. God's well-beloved daughter knows neither age nor decay. Before the work of creation began, she was with the Father of all things; and, when Time shall have ceased to be, she will stand before his throne, and still bask in the living light of the ineffable presence.

It is not merely poetry, but the ultimate result of all moral argument, that "true self-love, and social, are the same." "This is the foundation of all human wisdom," says Le Père Buffier, "the source from which all virtues, purely natural, flow, the general principle of all morals, and of all human society, that while I live with other men, who equally with myself desire to be happy, I must try to discover the means of increasing my own happiness, by augmenting that of others." Cicero regarded it as the basis of ethics, "ut eadem sit utilitas uniuscujusque et universorum." A higher authority than Cicero has established a whole code of duty upon the maxim, "Do ye therefore unto others as ye would that others should do unto you."

It is impossible therefore that the study even of temporary interests should derogate from the just influence of moral principles, at least while conducted on broad and comprehensive views; since there is no contrariety between them, but rather a strict conformity, the more evident as those interests are better understood.

But it is not to be forgotten, that the cultivation of the intellect is but a part, and not the most important part of a good and perfect education. The preëminent worth of moral cultivation should be strongly impressed on every parent and teacher. With a little care, many salutary precepts may be instilled into the minds of youth, such as shall deserve to be treasured up among the guiding maxims of their lives, and meditated upon as the fundamental principles of practical wisdom. These, being firmly rooted in their memories, will help them to form solid and substantial characters, which in

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after life will stand the test of every trial. Correct habits must be acquired, the sovereignty of conscience over the whole man must be established, the power of self-reliance must be gained, and the sentiment of independence nourished. Imbued with virtuous principles, and having learned to prize above all price and to preserve at every hazard the testimony of an approving conscience, the youth goes into the world armed at all points. To gird him with this panoply should be the endeavour of his moral education.

Almost the best defence, at least one of the strongest safeguards of morality, is the feeling of independence. If the world thinks that to be right which you think to be wrong, follow your own opinion, and preserve your self-respect. Consider that you would rather be honorable and despised, than be honored and despicable. If the world holds you in light esteem because it misunderstands your character, every mark of disrespect which it bestows upon you is a certificate of the beauty and excellence of those virtues in which it erroneously supposes you to be deficient. But if the world, while it knows your character, disesteems you, because the principles that regulate your conduct are above the received standard of morality, and it is incapable of appreciating them, retire within your own bosom and enjoy that serene consciousness of rectitude, which can sustain undisturbed the hoarse clamor of popular invective. He who has the fortitude and the constancy to do this, and to go on steadily in the path of duty visible to his eyes alone, experiences not merely that tranquil satisfaction which a sense of obligation fulfilled brings always with it, but a loftier, nobler, prouder pleasure, even the most exalted of which our nature is susceptible here on earth, that unalloyed felicity which is the prerogative of integrity invincible amid allurement or peril. The stern and solemn joy which bore the martyrs triumphant and exulting through their trials, which supported them and gave them the victory over shame and anguish and death itself, is the due reward of original and peculiar virtue, of virtue manifested in spite of temptation, — in spite of what is still harder to be resisted, ridicule, opprobrium, and scorn.

He who is educated as all the youth of a Republic should be, his virtuous dispositions corroborated into fixed habits, his knowledge of his own powers and capacities perfected into a modest but confident self-reliance, his heart steeled

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with the inflexible determination to guard and preserve unviolated the sanctity of his own self-approval, while an enlightened conscience with a distinct and unequivocal bidding calls him onward and upward in the path of a purer morality, though the blandishments of fashionable example draw him backward and downward with the witchery of sympathy, will never yield to the seduction, nor be disobedient to the dictates of that monitor whose precepts are not set at nought without punishment. He will not follow the multitude to do evil against light and conviction. The mean and cowardly abandonment of principle for precedent, the despicable dereliction of that course, straight though solitary, in which the very instinct of a noble spirit urges him on, never suggests itself to his contemplation as within the range of possible alternatives. He will not sacrifice that pure delight which neither the smiles of the world can give, nor their frowns take away. He will not surrender himself an unwilling and a miserable slave to the tyranny of custom, a servitude which becomes every day more and more intolerable, which exacts compliances still more and more degrading, which never loosens its hold till it has reduced the spirit, created to be free, to a grovelling dependence on the decisions and caprices of others.

With youth so educated, we should have none of that dissipation, without relish, endured, under a secret disgust, for fashion's sake; none of that servility of manners, the corruption engendered in the dotage of feudalism, preposterously imported into the wholesome simplicity of a vigorous republic; no prevarication in business, no equivocation in professions, no cant in criticism, no shuffling in politics, no temporizing in morals, no hypocrisy in religion. We should live in an honest and straight-forward world. Far distant though the dawning of this millennium may be, it is none the less desirable to hasten it onward; and though it were taken for certain, that neither we nor our children should ever enjoy the full fruition of so blessed a state, we should none the less strive for the nearest approach that we can attain to it.

What we may reasonably hope from the diffusion of education may in some degree be estimated by observing what it is that education has done for us already. It has constituted the essential differences between different men, and also between different nations. It is the correct understanding of

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his own true interests that makes one man happily virtuous, and it is because he is not thus enlightened that another becomes miserably vicious. In one nation, brutalizing superstition, abject poverty, and veneration for ancient abuses, forbid improvement, and keep the people stationary in the first stages of their natural progress; so that generation after generation drags out its wretched existence, toiling barely to support life and to secure a few of the baser animal gratifications, because no ray of knowledge has pierced the thick darkness which envelopes them, to discover to them any more substantial good, or to enlarge the narrow horizon which limits their experience, their desires, their hopes, and their pleasures; while, in another nation, each succeeding generation, inheriting the full capacity for happiness which its predecessors possessed, opens for itself new sources of enjoyment, till it reaches the most refined and exalted, diffuses their blessings till they become accessible to countless multitudes, and thus purifies their passions, advances them in virtue, and raises them in the scale of moral and intellectual being, because divine science has illuminated their minds, and has shown them the inducement, the means, and the practicability of being happy. One nation grovels in slavery, because it does not know its rights; another preserves but a small portion of liberty, because it knows not how to defend what it has obtained, or to regain what it has lost; while another exults in the unrestrained exercise of its energies, because it knows what freedom is, and knows how to value and to guard it. We have seen, from their legislative declarations, that our fathers were duly sensible of this great truth, and that therefore, anticipating the evils which ignorance would inevitably bring upon their posterity, they established the common-school system, — an institution singularly well calculated to perpetuate general information, — in the hope that we should not suffer the flame of knowledge to expire, but rather keep alive the sacred torch, and hand it down from age to age with undiminished lustre.

To show the whole extent of the change produced by education, and to exhibit it in the most striking light, we might take that bare, forked, unsophisticated animal, the human savage, examine his condition, and mark the slow degrees by which he rises. His instincts are less clear, his senses less acute, his strength, and swiftness, and vigor less extraordi-

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nary than those of several of the quadrupeds. Necessity drives him to observe the qualities of things, and to take advantage of such as he can make serviceable to his purposes. Nature seems at first sight to have treated him like a step-son. She sets him down upon the barren waste, naked and houseless, yet needing clothing and shelter; without swiftness to overtake the herds that wander over the pastures, or force to conquer, or weapons to defend himself against, the fierce monsters that prey upon them; in short, destitute, weak, and helpless. Knowledge gives him clothing, shelter, food, and tools. With tools he constructs machines, with machines he manufactures comforts and luxuries, and with all these he accumulates wealth, for his own future enjoyment, and to bequeath to his children after him. He establishes governments to protect his life and wealth; under whose wing he prosecutes his researches and improvements, till he considers him ignorant whom earlier ages would have called wise, and him poor whom the first stages of society would have styled rich.

But, without insisting upon so broad a contrast as that between man sunk in the brutal stupor of absolute ignorance, and man elevated to the highest refinement of Christian civilization, let us consider the effect of the sudden diffusion of information in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

So soon as knowledge began to shed her beams over benighted Europe, the beneficial effect of her influence was apparent. A spirit of innovation, a spirit full of hope, though sometimes ill directed, was abroad before the breaking out of the Reformation. That great convulsion, though it did not free faith, at once, from all its absurdities, and though it, at first, only restored reason to a divided empire, yet delivered the intellect from shackles more galling than any that remain; from venerable superstitions and inveterate prejudices. Those which remain are shaken, and totter, now that so many collateral errors which supported them are overthrown. Those, which have sprung up since, are temporary and scarcely to be feared.

The excitement, which the discussion of questions, in which every man felt himself so deeply concerned, was naturally calculated to generate, the political considerations with which they were complicated tended still more to heighten. The impulse, which the intellect then received, carried it far be-

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yond the intention or expectation of the movers. We can form some idea of its influence by tracing out its ramifications into all the controversies, theological, metaphysical, moral, and political of the present day. We shall not overrate its importance, if we ascribe to it all the superiority which the Protestant nations, as a body, may claim over the Catholic. In learning and in refinement, in wealth and in enterprise, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, in the latter half of the fifteenth century, were in advance of Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, and the other now Protestant states of Germany. But how stands the comparison subsequently? Their history since that time has been that of the rise of the Protestant, and the decline of the Catholic nations; and for this no other sufficient reason can be assigned than the comparative freedom of thought and of speech in the one, and the repose and constraint of the faculties in the other. But the contrast, startling as it is, does not exhibit the full measure of what we owe to the Reformation. Even the Catholic nations have been compelled in self-defence to cultivate literature and the sciences; even they have been led to reform abuses, and finally, in a most praiseworthy degree, to practise tolerance; so that we must pass to the credit of the Reformation not only the superiority of the Protestant nations, but also much that is excellent in the conduct of the Catholics; and whatever good the Reformation may have effected is to be primarily attributed to the diffusion of knowledge among the people.

If we examine the progress, which those occupations on which the greater part of mankind depend for their subsistence have made in modern times, we shall find the same cause operating here. Not merely the increase of knowledge, but the diffusion of knowledge generally among the people, has produced most of the phenomena of our present situation.

Agriculture was formerly carried on in so slovenly and improvident a manner, that terrible famines frequently devastated countries, which then contained not half the population they now support in plenty. Those who tilled the soil had no immediate personal interest in the profit or loss of the harvest. The land was in the hands of the hereditary nobility, and there it would have remained, if what, in Europe, are called the lower classes, had continued in ignorance. But, since the diffusion of knowledge has brought

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about the Reformation, the independence and freedom of America, the French Revolution, the downfall of the feudal system, and the consequent improvement in the condition of the laboring classes, agriculture is carried on, in several nations of the world, by those who reap the benefit of the product. It is no longer monopolized by lords, nor cultivated by slaves. In those countries where the land is in the possession of an intelligent and independent yeomanry, it has become a garden of fertility. The dense population of England and of Holland, and the thirty millions of France, import but little food, and yet are better fed in years of scarcity than the scanty and beggarly population of the same countries three centuries and a half ago.

Manufactures also owe their developement to the growing importance of the new classes, to whom knowledge has given wealth, and to the influence they have had in altering the habits and wants of the old exclusive proprietors. While the feudal baron lived in his castle, consumed the harvest of his domains to maintain state in his hall, and devoted his surplus revenue, if he had any, to service in the wars, or to quarrels with his neighbours, manufactures were few and simple ; but since the class, having numerous wants and ample means of gratifying them, has been so vastly increased, Philosophy has employed herself in the service of the useful arts, the whole force of chemistry has been brought to bear upon the processes of manufacture, and ingenuity now invents more machinery for cheapening and perfecting operations, in a single year, than formerly would have sufficed to be the boast of a whole century. The consequence of this change has been the amazing facility and rapidity with which manufacturing industry multiplies its productions ; so that articles, which, fifty years ago, were esteemed luxuries, are now ranked among the ordinary comforts of life, and the daily labor of a working man will now earn for him a reasonable supply of many accommodations and pleasures, which, before the mechanical age commenced, were only within the reach of the wealth of princes.

Internal intercourse, the convenience of travel and transportation, are almost altogether of modern growth. Savages have no roads, and yet without roads it is impossible to make any great progress in civilization. You may have mines of coal in one county, mines of the best iron ore in

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the next county, and both be useless for want of vehicles and means of transportation. A bad road, such as the roads in Poland at the present day, or such as the best roads in England two hundred years ago, doubles the price of a bulky article, like wheat, in thirty or forty miles' carriage. Of course, with such roads, there could be little traffic. Now, thanks to the genius of Clinton and Fulton, bulky articles, such as pork and flour, are furnished to the consumer, more than a thousand miles from the producer, cheaper than they could be raised in his immediate neighbourhood; and the cost is equalized over a whole vast continent. The improvement in travelling is not the least of the miracles which steam has wrought. In 1703, Prince George had occasion to go from Windsor to Petworth, about forty miles. An attendant describes the journey. "We set out at six in the morning, by torch light, to go to Petworth, and did not get out of the coaches, save only when we were overturned or stuck fast in the mire, till we arrived at our journey's end. 'T was a hard service for the Prince, to sit fourteen hours in the coach that day, without eating any thing, &c." The rest of the account is equally dismal. Now, by the potent urgency of steam, one rushes from London to Liverpool almost with the speed of the wind. Before the Revolution, the journey between New York and Boston was quite a serious undertaking; now you take your tea in New York, enjoy a night's sound sleep, and breakfast in Boston the next morning.

The transmission of intelligence by letters and newspapers is one of the most remarkable results of modern information. Nothing important takes place in Arkansas or Wisconsin, that is not known, as fast as steam can carry it, from Georgia to Maine. Nearly three thousand newspaper establishments disseminate it, and more than thirteen thousand post-offices forward and distribute it, receiving more than four millions of dollars a year for the postage of letters. These facts could not exist except where the power of reading and writing is universal. Alfred the Great complained, that, from the Humber to the Thames, there was not a priest who understood the liturgy in his mother tongue, and from the Thames to the sea they were still more ignorant. As late as the fourteenth century, Du Guesclin, constable of France, the greatest man in the state, and one of the greatest men of his age, could neither read nor write. Of course, neither Alfred, nor Du Guesclin,

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nor their countrymen, patronized either newspapers or post-offices; yet how much of civilization is due to the prompt and general intercommunication of ideas, it would be difficult to determine. It is in fact the application of steam to the process of thought, transmitting a train of reasoning commenced in one mind, to be completed in another, though a continent may intervene. The effect of this division of labor, and multiplication of laborers, in the intellectual world, can hardly be over-estimated.

While ignorance confined men's views within narrow limits, they scarcely dreamed of appropriating, and bringing into common use, any thing which they must resort to distant countries to obtain. Before science had brought navigation to a higher state of perfection than it ever obtained among the ancients, it could not have ventured across pathless oceans; since the discovery of America, it has changed the condition of the world. It has been the chief source of the great accumulations of capital in modern times; it has been the great promoter of civilization, and has done more than any other agent to bring about that community of interest and of feeling, which is beginning to unite nations in bonds more durable than the fragile treaties framed by jealous politicians. Through its benignant power, the blessings, which Providence had allotted to one region, are participated in by all; and climates, soils, and countries have not been diversified in vain.

The New World has received from the Old the invaluable gift of a noble race of men, more civilized and better informed than ever were colonists before. They came in the fulness of time; they have established here, where they were unembarrassed by the obstacles, which still retard the progress of their brethren left behind, those free institutions which are the admiration of mankind, and which keep alive the hope of the almost desponding patriot, who, on the other side of the Atlantic, sends up his ardent aspirations to Heaven that he may enjoy such liberty with such protection. The New World is repaying to the Old, richly repaying, the debt she owes her, by the example she holds out for imitation; an example whose value cannot now be estimated, but which the future philosopher and historian will discuss, as well as record. Not the least brilliant trait in this example is our common-school system, which ensures the perpetuity of that

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wisdom and virtue, which are the only safe foundation of republics, an institution which the Prussian monarchy has not hesitated to adopt, and in some respects improve. Let Massachusetts take heed, that Prussia does not leave her behind in the career of improvement.

The aggrandizement of the whole society, as a body politic, is not now so much the object of good government as to afford the fairest opportunities for the perfection of the individual character. Having observed those momentous revolutions, which the dissemination of knowledge has effected through the world at large, let us study the influence of education upon the individual.

The laws of hygiene having been first obeyed, the objects of education are twofold; to enlighten and instruct the understanding, and to perfect the moral sense and form the heart. The first of these is subordinate in importance, and subsidiary in purpose, to the second, because the intellect is only the agent for carrying into effect the determinations of the will. If these determinations are righteous, it will be well for mankind when vigorous and cultivated mental powers are subservient to their sway; if, on the other hand, they are iniquitous, it is a deplorable and a wide-felt calamity, that talents and information should be employed to accomplish them. A bold bad man is an enemy to be feared, and watched, and hedged in on every side. A man possessing and abusing the highest order of faculties, natural and acquired, should be shown less countenance, and command less respect, than an ignoramus or an *imbecile*; for all the deference paid to his formidable eminence is so much homage to the power of evil. Whatever degree of influence is yielded to him, so far the social interests and the public and private virtues are endangered, or, it should rather be said, must necessarily suffer. Knowledge, then, like all other power, may prove a blessing or a curse to him who wields it, and to those who experience its pervading, overcoming strength, operating upon their condition, circumstances, and character.

Knowledge is good or bad, according as it is well or ill used; and how it shall be used depends upon the moral sense, the product mostly of the moral education. We cannot say of a confirmed morality that it is good or bad, according to the amount of knowledge one possesses with it. Morality is good of itself, whether one be well-informed or

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altogether unlearned. One may hold all the truth in unrighteousness, and deserve the more to be condemned because he holds it; but, if any one does the will of his Maker, if he does always what is just and right, though ignorant and humble and despised, he has chosen that good part of a complete education, which cannot be taken away from him, and without which all the rest of the most finished education that genius could conceive, would be only the worthless adorning of a base, superficial, unsubstantial hollow-heartedness, covered with an outward show of false pretences, but destitute of any fixed, internal, permanent principle of conduct. It follows, that morality is to be regarded as the basis and foundation of the character, and that, to instil into the youthful breast sound moral principles, — principles of benevolence, uprightness, justice, and honor, — and to confirm and guard these principles with such belief, impressions, and habits, as shall make their stability through all possible vicissitudes of life almost infallibly certain, should be the primary object, the grand end and aim, of a well-directed education. In accordance with this design, and as contributing most effectually to secure it, intellectual cultivation should not be neglected; but it must never be forgotten, that the means are valuable only in so far as they conduce to the end, and that knowledge, a treasure above all price in the service of philanthropy, becomes an inexhaustible fountain of woe, when, pressed into the employment of vice, its natural tendency is perverted, and its mighty, effective energies are devoted to the infliction of evil.

These general considerations are quite sufficient of themselves to satisfy us with what fundamental views we ought to set about the education of our children. But perhaps the conclusion to which we have already arrived will be impressed more deeply on our minds, if we examine a little in detail into the ordinary consequences of moral character. Let us cast a penetrating glance through the innumerable varieties of moral disposition and of external circumstances in the world about us, and inquire whose lot and situation are on the whole desirable, and whose are earnestly to be deprecated. It will be easy to decide, whether happiness, usefulness, and genuine wisdom are not uniformly to be found associated with a pure morality. If it is apparent, undeniable, that they are so, let us then ask ourselves, whether we can begin

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too early, or labor too assiduously, to establish broad, solid, and lasting foundations for a virtuous character.

Who are the truly happy? Whatever be the enjoyments in which we make happiness to consist, it will still be a demonstrable truth, that morality furnishes the only plain and certain road to its attainment.

If we wish to derive from the indulgence of our senses the greatest aggregate of satisfaction they can afford, wealth supplies the means. How can wealth be accumulated? Various as are the expedients of different men, one general rule applies to them all, a rule so universally recognised that it is condensed into a proverb, never doubted by any man endowed with common sense, the rule that "honesty is the best policy."

In the infancy of society, when the right of property was but little respected, the advantage of honesty as a matter of policy merely, to the few who practised it, must have been small, compared to the benefit of a strict adherence to that virtue in times when it is generally practised and universally professed. Still, in the rudest savage state, a code of virtue originates in the necessities of men's situation; simple, yet soon, from its obvious utility, approved by all, and enforced by public opinion. The necessity of good faith in the world was a fact felt to be real as soon as human intercourse began. The heathen nations, though they abandoned themselves to the practice of many gross vices, were so sensible of the beauty and excellence of virtue, that they applauded philosophers who taught a morality almost as strict as that of modern Christendom; and so correct were the decisions of their consciences, as to draw from an Apostle the observation, that the Gentiles, being without law, were a law unto themselves. In the Roman commonwealth, during the earlier period of its history, the sterner, and what may properly be called the more republican virtues, were more severely practised and held in higher honor than they have ever been among any modern nation, from the strong conviction rooted in the breasts of that people of their expediency, or rather their necessity for the gratification of the master-passion, the desire of aggrandizing the Roman power. As society has become more civilized, it has been seen more plainly; that mutual confidence is the only tie that can bind mankind together in communities; and that a general observance of the

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laws of morality is the only basis upon which mutual confidence can be durably established.

He who acts in defiance of these principles is treated as a common enemy. Such being the consent of all men in civilized society, while they all agree in the grand outlines of general morality, and not only believe, but feel, each one, a personal and immediate interest in their binding obligation, he who contravenes them sets himself in controversy with the rest of his species. He sets himself at war also with universal interests, and with immutable principles. He might as well oppose the order of physical nature, and think to evade the law of gravitation, as attempt to move counter to the elements of civil society; in either case, and just as infallibly in the one as in the other, the result must be his entire discomfiture.

Compare the general results of opposite systems of conduct. Of the artificers of their own fortunes, rarely can one be found who has built himself up by the force of a superior intellect in defiance of the obligations of morality. If here and there you may meet with a single unprincipled and profligate example of undeserved success, who seems to be basking in the sunshine of prosperity, suspend your judgment awhile, and mark well the issue. Almost invariably, some sudden catastrophe, the consequence of his violation of the principles of rectitude, arrests him in his brief career, and overwhelms him with calamity. But of the same class of self-made men, fortunately under our republican institutions a very numerous class, thousands and tens of thousands have risen, not by strength of talents, but by an unexceptionable course of direct and upright dealing in all their concerns. Turn to the other side of the account, and who people our prisons and houses of correction? Men not wanting in talents, but of unbalanced minds, and irregular and defective developement of character. Men born with capacities for greatness and goodness, but wrecked and ruined in the outset, because their moral education has been neglected or conducted on false principles. Men mighty to perpetuate evil, to corrupt and to contaminate others, but imbecile for virtuous action, because their vilest passions, left unchecked when they should have been subdued, have acquired a vigor and energy which conscience cannot curb nor prudence restrain, and have assumed the complete mastery over their

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whole nature. The inmates of prisons make rapid progress in all the mysteries of wickedness; yet the ablest of those pupils of sin, once discharged from their dismal abode, are the soonest to return; so little do tact and skill avail an individual in a struggle with the universal interests of society, and so surely do vicious habits and propensities, fastening upon him like an incubus which cannot be shaken off, bear down their victim with a pressure under which he cannot rise. These men employ talents, oftentimes, and exercise an ingenuity and an application, the tenth part of which would have been sufficient to insure success in any prudent course of virtuous enterprise, but which, misdirected by the impulses of a bad heart, earn for them nothing but poverty, wretchedness and just contempt, and only sink them deeper in the abyss of despair.

Thus much of the influence on our condition in life of moral character, the product of moral education, treating only of extreme cases; yet the majority, who occupy intermediate stations, are subject to the same laws. Among us, few are absolutely destitute without some fault of their own, though multitudes suffer under privations, if not extreme want, who are honest and worthy citizens, or, at least, never guilty of any heinous crime. The distress of far the greater number of these may be justly attributed to the neglect of what some consider to be moralities of lesser obligation, — such as industry, punctuality, and frugality. Though idleness, habitual procrastination, and prodigality, do not ordinarily pass under the denomination of crimes, yet they are morally wrong, and always bring after them heavy punishments. They are, moreover, the most prolific sources of intemperance, and intemperance is the parent of every woe and crime. A correct moral education, therefore, would remove most of the causes of poverty, as well as of much greater evils, by making men industrious, prompt, punctual, frugal, and temperate.

When we speak of the beneficial effect of such an education on the pecuniary circumstances of the next generation, we are far from intimating that there are not other interests involved of much more momentous importance. Heaven forbid, that morality should ever be dissevered from religious motives, and debased to a sordid calculation of profit and loss; bereft of that life-giving spirit, which elevates and en-

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nobles it, which extends its sphere beyond the narrow confines of self, and pushes its prospective vision farther than time can limit or than space can bound.

Wealth is not only fleeting ; it is neither the sole, nor the best foundation on which to rest our hopes of happiness, even while it lasts. Respectability of character is of far higher value, and much less likely to be lost through the caprices of fortune. It would be a waste of words to show, that an unspotted moral life must confer respectability, and that respect derived from whatever qualities, without this, must be short-lived and of little worth. Equally self-evident is it, that those who live in the constant practice of moral duty, though wealth and respect should both desert them, have internal resources for consolation of which they cannot be deprived. He who possesses a conscience void of offence is passing rich, whether he has much or little of this world's goods. He who is not afraid to be alone with his Maker, is independent of the smiles or frowns of the world. The sunshine of prosperity, the tempest of adversity, neither seduce nor terrify his steadfast soul. The basis on which his happiness is fixed, the immovable, imperturbable basis of a good conscience, he owes to a good moral education.

For the purposes of such an education as we have described, our common schools are as yet, it must be confessed, lamentably deficient. The virtuous impulses which swell the heart of this great nation were hardly imparted there. The schools have done much for the intellect, furnishing the rudiments of knowledge, which their pupils have improved afterwards. Indirectly, they have done much for sound morals, because all good learning has a wholesome influence ; but their direct action upon moral character has never been all that it should be. Parental instruction and guidance have formed the hearts of this generation ; and, where these have been wanting, youth have been left to be the sport of casual associations and accidental circumstances. Of course, in the forming period of life, much must always depend on right beginnings ; our reliance is mainly, in the first instance, upon maternal care, and afterwards on both the parents. But the school must not stand neutral ; it must be brought forward, and made to fulfil its part, as the most powerful auxiliary.

Universal education, a higher education, such as shall put to shame not past ages only, but the present, must be provided for. The want is felt, and will not longer be endured

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without a strenuous effort to meet it. The philanthropist, the patriot, and the Christian feel the urgent need of a generous developement of the noblest powers and faculties, and the richest affections of our common nature, through that dull mass of humanity in whom they now slumber inert and almost lifeless. The refinement of taste, which, without intellectual and moral cultivation, ends only in elegant imbecility; financial prosperity, which, if not pressed into the service of virtue, may be prostituted to engender corruption; absorbing political interests, which convulse the Union to its centre, and which unhallowed ambition may pervert to the destruction of freedom, all these are insignificant, are as nothing and less than nothing, compared with this paramount necessity. The cry of the age is for true education. Its advent is longed for, and prayed for, and believed in. It seems just bursting above our moral horizon, radiant with knowledge and virtue, shedding light into the understanding, and pouring warmth into the heart, a genial sun whose beams are for the healing of the nations. Glorious visions of future progress, and blessed omens of their coming consummation throng upon the soul, and fill it with comfort and joy, when the evidences of the earnest awakening of mankind, under the vivifying and quickening influences of this bright-dawning era, present themselves to our view.

How is the great work to be accomplished? What are our means of levelling the fortifications, impregnable since the creation of the world, in which ignorance and vice have entrenched themselves? Hope, which was Cæsar's only portion when he went into Gaul; faith in man's high nature and destiny; the ardent enthusiasm which the grand object to be attained inspires; the unquenchable zeal already active, and which will never rest, nor pause, till the victory is achieved, and darkness abdicates her narrowed empire.

It is manifest, that the people themselves must be the immediate agents in the revolution. Impressed with its usefulness, aware that the time has come for a seasonable effort, prepared to submit to sacrifices, and determined to overcome difficulties, it is in their power to begin and complete in a few years a wonderful change, extending to the entire regeneration of society. The humblest laborer in the undertaking will reap, in his own personal share of the benefit, an adequate remuneration for all his toil; while the loftiest ambition may well be allured to earn and win the enduring honor of so

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brilliant and dazzling an enterprise. Ignorance will not fall an easy prey; he has survived many attacks, he has grown old in dominion, he will die with harness at his back; but perish he must, if history teaches any sure lesson, if there be any thing certain in philosophy, if the steady march of improvement be not a dream, if the omnipotence of truth be not a fable, if our kind Father did not create us to be from age to age the bondmen of error. None doubt it, save the stony-ground hearers of nature's teachings, in whose minds the experience of the world is barren of consequences.

When the enlightened and the virtuous fully realize their responsibility in this matter, as the signs of the times convince us they do in some good degree already, public opinion will imperatively demand a more elevated standard of youthful education. A legislative expression of this demand, even if government went no further, would carry with it great weight. Such an expression emanated from the legislature of Massachusetts in the Act of April 20th, 1837.

By that act a Board of Education was established, having the general superintendence of the common-school system of the State, and required to report to the legislature all their doings, with such observations as their experience and reflection may suggest, upon the condition and efficiency of our system of popular education, and the most practicable means of improving and extending it. Their first Annual Report was submitted on the 1st of February last, and is now before the public, including the first Report of their Secretary, in a pamphlet of seventy-five pages.

Individuals may contribute to raise the popular standard of education, by their direct personal influence in society, by written discussions of the subject, in the newspapers and other periodical as well as occasional publications, and through the reports of school committees, which are, by the Act of April 11th, 1838, required to be made annually, "designating particular improvements and defects in the methods or means of education, and stating such facts and suggestions in relation thereto, as in their opinion will best promote the interests and increase the usefulness of said schools," and to be read in open town-meeting, or printed and distributed for the use of the inhabitants. By delivering or promoting public lectures, and by assisting in the formation and management of associations for collecting and diffusing information on the

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subject, or by coöperating with the Board of Education in its efforts for this purpose, or, though last, not least, by furnishing pecuniary means, the good work may be hastened on.

The Act of 12th April, 1837, authorizes an expenditure of thirty dollars for the first year, and ten dollars for every subsequent year, by each school district in the Commonwealth, for the purchase of a district school library. These sums, small as they are, will be found, in the present economy of printing, amply sufficient for the object. In a very few years, they will command a library of more than two hundred volumes, which, if judiciously selected, may be made to contain more profitable and instructive reading than is now to be found within the limits of the district, in at least four-fifths of the whole number now in the State. We speak advisedly upon this point. We have at this moment beside us, a pile of from sixty to seventy volumes, selected with a view to this object, mostly duodecimos, of two or three hundred pages; and we know many gentlemen in the learned professions, of good estate, and residing in our large towns, whose libraries do not include half the amount of really valuable matter. It is understood, that a neat edition of fifty volumes, approved by the Board of Education as suitable for common-school libraries, is about to be published and sold at a very moderate rate, plainly and substantially bound, and placed in cases well adapted for convenient transportation, and afterwards to serve as the permanent place of deposite.

It is highly desirable that every school district should avail itself of this provision of the law. These books, being fitted for common use, would pass from the scholar into the family, and increase the interest of parents in the better education of their children, by giving them new views of its value.

Much good might unquestionably be effected by the publication of a periodical journal, of which the exclusive object should be to promote the cause of common-school education. Such a journal, devoted to collecting and diffusing information on this subject, to the discussion of the numerous important questions which belong to it, to the formation of a sound and intelligent public opinion, and the excitement of a warm and energetic public sentiment, might render incalculable service. The Board of Education are decidedly of opinion, that a journal of this description would be the most valuable auxiliary which could be devised to carry into exe-

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cution the enlightened policy of the government in legislating for the improvement of the schools, and they indulge a sanguine hope that it will shortly be established, under such auspices as will go far to insure its success.

After all, the great work of reformation is to be effected in the schools themselves, and in the qualifications of the teachers more especially. One serious obstacle in the way of this improvement is, the little interest taken by the most enlightened part of the community, we speak it with regret, in the condition of the common schools, from the circumstance that their own children are receiving education in private schools at their own expense. This naturally leads to a remissness and neglect, which can by no means be justified, on the part of those who are most strongly bound by every consideration to concern themselves in the improvement of education. The number of scholars in private schools appears by the returns to be twenty-seven thousand two hundred and sixty-six, while the whole number of children in the State, between the ages of four and sixteen years, stands in the returns, one hundred and seventy-seven thousand and fifty-three. From the nature of our political institutions, these thirty thousand will not control the political destiny of the hundred and eighty thousand, thirty years hence, but just the reverse. The five-sixths will fix the standard of taste, of morality, and of general conduct, to which the one-sixth will conform, and above which very few only, with infinite labor, can raise themselves. The five-sixths will possess the legislative authority, elect the executive, and thereby fill the judiciary, according to their own notions of expediency and right. They are to have, then, the disposal of property, life, and liberty for their generation, and are so to mould and modify the institutions of their country as powerfully to influence, for good or evil, the generation that shall come after them. Could they be left, as happily they cannot be, to grow up in political and moral profligacy, in the unrestrained indulgence of their bad passions, an individual, or a class of men, of superior wealth and education, would be merely at their mercy, a feather upon a stormy sea. No man is independent of the public immediately about him. He is elevated by its good influences, even though his early education was defective. He is debased by the daily spectacle and contact of debasement, and, though fitted for better things, generally

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sinks into the surrounding mass of corruption. If there be any who are deaf to the voice of patriotism, philanthropy, and duty, let them at least regard the welfare of their own offspring. The public opinion of our times is the moral atmosphere which we all breathe in common. If it be wholesome, it invigorates and sustains us ; if poisonous, we all languish, and the feeble perish. How imperative the obligation, and grateful the task to preserve its purity ; how fatal its contamination, and how censurable is their supineness through whose fault we are put in peril.

We are all embarked in one bottom, and must sink or swim together. Will not the sharp-sighted look to it, that the ship be sea-worthy, and preclude betimes avoidable dangers ?

The amount paid for tuition in private schools, for one-sixth of the children of the State, is three hundred and twenty-eight thousand dollars ; while the amount raised by taxes for the education of the other five-sixths in public schools is four hundred and sixty-five thousand, and the amount voluntarily contributed to the public schools is forty-eight thousand dollars. If these sums were added together, and the whole eight or nine hundred thousand dollars were judiciously applied to common-school education, it cannot be doubted, that all the children might receive a higher order of instruction than now falls to the lot of the favored sixth part.

The value of the annual products of the industry of Massachusetts is about one hundred millions of dollars, of which less than one per cent. is appropriated to the education of children, and less than ten per cent. is saved at the end of the year to be added to previous accumulations which form the permanent capital of the State. If two per cent. of this annual product were devoted to education, is it not probable, that the product itself would be greatly enlarged, and a better economy introduced into the expenditure of it, so that this addition to the permanent capital might be much more rapid ? We do not doubt, that the best education within the power of every town in this Commonwealth would in thirty years' time double the rate at which wealth increases.

If private schools were discountenanced, and those who now support them would turn their attention to the improvement of our common schools, the additional funds turned into this channel would be but a small part of the benefit derived

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from the alteration. Those who set the highest value on education, and are determined at all costs to secure its blessings to their own children, instead of standing aloof from the general concerns, as too many of them now do, would be foremost in their zeal for the district schools, acting on committees, visiting the schools, selecting the teachers, advising and assisting them, contributing to their support, and to the erection of better houses, and the purchase of better furniture, apparatus, and libraries. There would also be thrown into the district and town schools a class of scholars more thoroughly educated already at the private schools, whose example would give a quickening impulse to emulation; and, as those parents who have been willing to pay for private tuition are generally those who take most pains with their children at home, these children would continue to impart a good influence to the rest of the school, even after the immediate effect of the first infusion. A combined effort will produce a wonderful improvement. The district school in the central village of the town will no longer be, as it often is, the poorest in its whole territory, but it will be elevated to the rank of a model for the rest, and they will all gladly profit by the opportunity for imitation.

As soon as those who have withdrawn their children, because they were dissatisfied with the character of our common schools, come again to take a personal interest in their prosperity, there will be an active demand for better teachers. As soon as the fund now diverted to private schools is restored to this legitimate purpose, the means will be at hand for commanding the services of a higher order of teachers. It is notorious, that the small compensation paid in our public schools will not, as a general fact, induce men of talents and learning to take charge of them. The best instructers seek higher salaries in the private schools. But additional compensation will draw them back into the public service. The private schools, which would be surrendered for an energetic reform in the whole system, would in part supply the demand for better teachers. But there are in Massachusetts only eight hundred and fifty-four private schools and academies, while the aggregate number of teachers, male and female, employed in the public schools, either in summer or winter, is five thousand nine hundred and sixty-one. Besides, academies for the instruction of such youth as wished to

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pursue the higher branches of learning, after completing the first stages of their education in the common schools, would not be diminished in number, though they would certainly be increased in excellence and efficiency, by the proposed reformation. Nor is it to be disguised, that many private teachers are no better qualified than those now employed by the public, so that there still remain considerably over five thousand instructers to be properly qualified for their task. It is obvious, that an extensive demand for well-educated teachers cannot at present be satisfied; there is no supply; but there must be a supply provided, and that forthwith.

We most cordially concur in the remarks of the Reverend Dr. Channing, in his address at the Odeon, on the 28th of February, 1837.

"We need an institution for the formation of better teachers; and, until this step is taken, we can make no important progress. The most crying want in this Commonwealth is the want of accomplished teachers. We boast of our schools, but our schools do comparatively little, for want of educated instructers. Without good teaching, a school is but a name. An institution for training men to train the young would be a fountain of living waters, sending forth streams to refresh present and future ages. As yet, our legislators have denied to the poor and laboring classes this principal means of their elevation. We trust they will not always prove blind to the highest interest of the State.

"We want better teachers, and more teachers, for all classes of society, for rich and poor, for children and adults. We want that the resources of the community should be directed to the procuring of better instructers, as its highest concern. One of the surest signs of the regeneration of society will be, the elevation of the art of teaching to the highest rank in the community. When a people shall learn, that its greatest benefactors and most important members are men devoted to the liberal instruction of all its classes, to the work of raising to life its buried intellect, it will have opened to itself the path of true glory. This truth is making its way. Socrates is now regarded as the greatest man in an age of great men. The name of *king* has grown dim before that of *apostle*. To teach, whether by word or action, is the highest function on earth.

"Nothing is more needed, than that men of superior gifts and of benevolent spirit should devote themselves to the instruction of the less enlightened classes in the great end of

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life, in the dignity of their nature, in their rights and duties, in the history, laws, and institutions of their country, in the philosophy of their employments, in the laws, harmonies, and productions of outward nature, and, especially, in the art of bringing up children in health of body, and in vigor and purity of mind. We need a new profession or vocation, the object of which shall be to wake up the intellect in those spheres where it is now buried in habitual slumber.

"We want a class of liberal-minded instructers, whose vocation it shall be, to place the views of the most enlightened minds within the reach of a more and more extensive portion of their fellow-creatures. The wealth of a community should flow out like water for the preparation and employment of such teachers, for enlisting powerful and generous minds in the work of giving impulse to their race.

"Nor let it be said that men, able and disposed to carry on this work, must not be looked for in such a world as ours. Christianity, which has wrought so many miracles of beneficence, which has sent forth so many apostles and martyrs, so many Howards and Clarksons, can raise up laborers for this harvest also. Nothing is needed but a new pouring out of the spirit of Christian love, nothing but a new comprehension of the brotherhood of the human race, to call forth efforts which seem impossibilities in a self-seeking and self-indulging age."

The legislature of the present year are fully impressed with the necessity of a provision for the education of school teachers, as appears from the Report of the Committee on Education, read in the House on the 22d of March last, and accepted, carrying with it an appropriation of ten thousand dollars, with the most gratifying unanimity. They thus express themselves, in language becoming our ancient Commonwealth;

"That the highest interest in Massachusetts is, and will always continue to be, the just and equal instruction of all her citizens, so far as the circumstances of each individual will permit it to be imparted; that her chief glory, for two hundred years, has been the extent in which this instruction was diffused, the result of provident legislation, to promote the common cause, and secure the perpetuity of the common interest; that, for many years, a well-grounded apprehension has been entertained, of the neglect of our common schools by large portions of our community, and of the comparative degradation to which these institutions might fall from such neglect; that the friends of universal education have long looked to the

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legislature for the establishment of one or more seminaries devoted to the purpose of supplying qualified teachers for the town and district schools, by whose action alone other judicious provisions of law could be carried into full effect ; * * * that, although much has been done within two or three years, for encouragement of our town schools by positive enactment, and more by the liberal spirit, newly awakened in our several communities, yet the number of competent teachers is found, by universal experience, so far inadequate to supply the demand for them, as to be the principal obstacle to improvement, and the greatest deficiency of our republic."

The views of the Board of Education on this point are substantially those of the legislature. They remark in their Report of February last, that it is matter of too familiar observation to need repetition, that there are all degrees of skill and success on the part of teachers; nor can it be deemed unsafe to insist, that, while occupations requiring a very humble degree of intellectual effort and attainment demand a long-continued training, it cannot be, that the arduous and manifold duties of the instructer of youth should be as well performed without, as with, a specific preparation for them. In fact, it must be admitted, as the voice of reason and experience, that institutions for the formation of teachers must be established among us, before the all-important work of forming the minds of our children can be performed in the best possible manner, and with the greatest attainable success.

In those foreign countries where the greatest attention has been paid to the work of education, schools for teachers have formed an important feature in their systems, and with the happiest result. The art of imparting instruction has been found, like every other art, to improve by cultivation in institutions established for that specific object. New importance has been attached to the calling of the instructer by public opinion, from the circumstance, that his vocation has been deemed one requiring systematic preparation and culture. Whatever tends to degrade the profession in his own mind, or that of the public, of course, impairs his usefulness ; and this result must follow from regarding instruction as a business which in itself requires no previous training.

A well-timed act of noble, public-spirited munificence on the part of an individual, in the donation of ten thousand dollars towards the establishment of Normal Schools, led to the appropriation, on the part of the State, of the same sum, for

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the same purpose, by the Resolves of the 19th of April, 1838, resolves fit for the anniversary of the battle of Lexington. It is understood that the Board of Education, at their annual meeting in the last week of May last, determined to take immediate measures for the establishment of one or more Normal Schools; and we are happy to learn, that measures are now in train with every prospect of success, and that the most liberal spirit of coöperation is manifested in more than one section of the State; so that a beginning will no doubt soon be made in the great enterprise of preparing adequate teachers for our common schools.

"Wherever the discharge of my duties has led me through the State, with whatever intelligent men I have conversed, the conviction has been expressed with entire unanimity," says the Secretary of the Board, "that there is an extensive want of competent teachers for the common schools." School committees allege, in justification of their approval of incompetent persons, the utter impossibility of obtaining better for the compensation offered. Yet it is often urged, that it would be useless to attempt to educate teachers, because the compensation is too small to induce young men of talents into the profession, or to justify an expense of time and means in preparing for it. This objection is, to some extent, plausible; yet there are some obvious considerations which serve for an answer.

1. Educate teachers, and the compensation will be increased. If you furnish better teachers for the public schools, private schools will be discontinued, and leave at liberty a fund for public teachers. The average wages per month of the public teachers, including board, are for males, twenty-five dollars and forty-four cents, and for females, eleven dollars and thirty-eight cents. Subtract board at two dollars and fifty cents a week for males, and one dollar and fifty cents a week for females, and we have fifteen dollars and forty-four cents, for the male teachers, and five dollars and thirty-eight cents for female teachers, exclusive of board. If one half of the private schools were discontinued, and the expenditure of one hundred and sixty-four thousand dollars transferred to the public schools, this addition would raise the wages of teachers, exclusive of board, to twenty-five dollars for the males, and nine dollars for the females per month, unless the time of keeping school were lengthened.

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2. If female teachers can be educated in the most perfect manner, they would be employed with great advantage in many of the schools now kept by men. There are two thousand three hundred and seventy male teachers employed in the public schools. Suppose females, at nine dollars a month, exclusive of board, to take the places of one half this number, a fund will remain sufficient to raise the wages of the remaining twelve hundred teachers, from twenty-five to forty-one dollars per month, exclusive of board, or at the rate of four hundred and ninety-two dollars a year, which we do not hesitate to say, as an average price for the whole State, is quite high enough to secure the services of gentlemen every way competent, in the business of teaching as a permanent profession. It is not necessary, then, that the public should raise a dollar more than they now do, unless they wish the schools to be kept a longer time. What the public now pay will enable them, by returning patronage from private to public schools, and by employing a larger proportion of female teachers, to offer such a compensation as will not only procure an adequate supply of well-educated young men and women for the profession, but even cause a competition among them for employment, instead of the difficulty now experienced by committees to find one competent candidate by long and diligent inquiry.

3. The calculation does not stop here. It is true economy to buy an article that is worth your money, and many have been ruined by buying cheap pennyworths in education no less than in trade. A good master will teach and benefit a school more in two months, than a master poorly qualified in a year. It will be found much cheaper to employ the best teachers. A boy kept till he is eighteen in an ordinary district school, and then sent for three years to a common country academy, is not so well fitted for active life at twenty-one, as every boy might be at sixteen in such a school as ought to be kept in every district in the Commonwealth, and well might be, if we had our essential Normal schools in full operation. Whoever, therefore, will be still content to give his son no better education than we have mentioned, may have it at less than the present cost, by employing the best teachers, and his son produce an income, instead of requiring an expense, for the last five years of minority. But he who gives his children a comparatively superior education

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in the present state of things, would not rest satisfied till he had educated them in the same degree above the improved standard. And, in so doing, he would not depart from the strictest economy; for an enlightened community produces and accumulates wealth faster, in a vastly greater ratio, than the proportionate additional cost of their education. A million of dollars a year, judiciously applied to the improvement of young heads and hearts, for the next thirty years, would not merely be refunded, but the State would be much more than thirty millions richer in visible property at the end of the period.

But we are tired of reducing the riches of the soul to a metallic standard. Though in this trading, and banking, and speculating generation, in which even a steam engine ciphers, and keeps its reckoning of loss and gain, such a course of ratiocination may be necessary to gain the good cause a hearing with a class of matter-of-fact philosophers, yet to us it has always seemed to be almost in the spirit of the question of the Adversary, a question full of devilish wisdom, "Doth Job fear God for nought?" At least, it savours too much of the temper of that member of the British Parliament who said to John Howard, "I don't doubt you get well paid for all your trouble." Is there then nothing worth having, except what is equivalent to money? Yes, there is much; but those who realize how much, are strong upon our side already, and have no need to be converted. We join issue, therefore, with those, a part of whose creed it is, that the promises held out by education ought to be redeemable in specie; and we say to them, if they will pause and lend an ear a moment, that it is not enough that their children should be intelligent and virtuous, even if that were possible in the neglect of all others, but their neighbour's children must possess intelligence and virtue also, or their own children must pay for the deficiency, ay, pay for it specifically in money. The question is, whether it is not both cheaper and pleasanter to pay through the school committee than through the overseers of the poor, to support schools than jails, teachers than executioners, and to build writing-desks than gallows.

The Reverend Dr. B. Forde, for many years the Ordinary of Newgate, remarks, in his hints for the improvement of the police, "The ignorance of the inferior classes of society is

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the first and great cause of the multitudinous depredations which are daily and nightly committed. Idleness is the second. 1st. Public schools, under the care, control, and inspection of a zealous parochial committee, ought to be established throughout the whole kingdom, if possible; in which religion, morality, and a moderate degree of learning, should be taught to the poor, free of every expense. 2d. Work ought to be provided for the industrious."

Sir Richard Phillips, sheriff of London, says, that on the Memorial addressed to the sheriffs by 152 criminals in Newgate, 25 only signed their names in a fair hand, 26 in an illegible scrawl, 101 were *marksmen*, signing with a cross. Few of the prisoners could read with facility, more than half could not read at all, most of them thought books useless, and were totally ignorant of the nature, object, and end of religion.

The same phenomenon presents itself in all American prisons. The Eleventh of the admirable Reports of the Prison Discipline Society gives these facts, which might be multiplied almost indefinitely. In Connecticut, no convict ever sent to the State prison had a liberal education, or belonged to either of the learned professions. One half were unable to write, and one sixth to read. Of the 66 convicts of 1835, the crimes of only four required for their commission ability either to read or write. In Auburn Prison, of 228 convicts in 1835, 3 had an academical education; 59 could read, write, and cipher; 56 could read and write only; 50 could read only; and 60 could not read. In the New Penitentiary in Philadelphia, of 217 prisoners received in 1835, 63 can neither read nor write, 69 can read only, and 85 can read and write, but most of them very indifferently. The chaplain of the Ohio Penitentiary remarks; "Not only in our prison, but in others, depraved appetites and corrupt habits, which have led to the commission of crime, are usually found with the ignorant, uninformed, and duller part of mankind. Of the 276, nearly all below mediocrity, 175 are grossly ignorant, and, in point of education, scarcely capable of transacting the ordinary business of life."

Such is the universal testimony of all competent witnesses. "*Poor ignorant creatures, Sir,*" said a jailer to Leigh Hunt, in that phrase giving a general description of all his prisoners.

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Dr. Forde was right in supposing that good public schools would be the best remedy for the prevalent disposition to crime. A comparison of Scotland with England and Ireland shows this very forcibly. Mr. H. Fielding stated, that "during the number of years he presided in Bow Street, only six Scotchmen were ever brought before him; but the greater part of the persons committed were of the sister island, *where the natural dispositions of the people are quite as good*, but the system of education is neither so strict nor so generally adopted as in Scotland." Mr. Hume stated, "that one quarter sessions for the single town of Manchester sent more felons to the plantations, than all the Scotch judges do for ordinary in a twelvemonth." Lord Justice Clerk, in an address to the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Glasgow, in 1808, took occasion to observe, that the commitments for criminal offences in England and Wales exceeded four thousand a year, a number nearly equal to all the commitments in Scotland since the Union. If his Lordship was astonished at four thousand commitments in a year, for England and Wales, we know not what opinion he would form of the present state of crime there. We have before us the official returns of criminals for 1837, made up at the Home Department on the last day of January, and as this document is not within the reach of most of our readers, we give the facts bearing on this point, prefixing a few years for comparison, to show the progress of crime.

The number of persons committed or bailed in England and Wales, was,

In 1828,	16,564.	1832, 20,829.	1835, 20,731.
1829,	18,675.	1833, 20,072.	1836, 20,984.
1830,	18,107.	1834, 22,451.	1837, 23,612.
1831,	19,647.		

Giving an average for the last four years of 21,944 commitments in a year,—a most melancholy fact.

For a comparison between the three kingdoms we give one year. In 1834, there were committed or bailed,

		Sentenced to Death.	Executed.
In England and Wales,	22,451.	480.	34.
Ireland,	21,381.	197.	43.
Scotland,	2,711.	6.	4.

In Ireland education is most neglected; the gibbet takes account of it. Beccaria, in 1767, predicted, that the punish-

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ment of death would not survive that happy period, "when knowledge instead of ignorance shall become the portion of the greater number."

To show the effect of ignorance in the production of these crimes we give the degrees of instruction of offenders for 1837; and, to prove the gratifying fact, that the proportion of educated offenders diminishes, we give the per-centage of each class for 1836, and for 1837.

	Male.	Female.	1836.	1837.
Whole number of commitments,	19,407.	4,205.	—	—
Unable either to read or write,	6,684.	1,780.	33.52.	35.85.
Able to read and write imperfectly,	10,147.	2,151.	52.33.	52.08.
Able to read and write well,	2,057.	177.	10.56.	9.46.
Instruction superior to mere reading and writing well,	98.	3.	0.91.	0.43.
Instruction could not be ascertained,	421.	94.	2.68.	2.18.

Of all the criminal offenders, therefore, be it remembered, less than one half of one per cent. have received any education beyond reading and writing. There were 358 offenders of twelve years or under, and more than half of these young sinners were totally uninstructed.

Lord Justice Clerk, having noticed the inferior number of criminals in Scotland, proceeds to say, that, supposing his calculation to be accurate, it calls upon us for very serious reflection to discover the causes of this proud inferiority.

"I think we have not far to look," says his Lordship, "for the causes of the good order and morality of our people."

"The institution of parochial schools, in the manner and to the extent in which they are established in Scotland, is, I believe, peculiar to ourselves; and it is an institution, to which, however simple in its nature and unobtrusive in its operation, I am persuaded we are chiefly to ascribe the regularity of conduct by which we are distinguished. The child of the meanest peasant, of the lowest mechanic in this country, may, and most of them do, receive a virtuous education from their earliest youth. At our parochial schools, they are not only early initiated in the principles of our holy religion, and in the soundest doctrines of morality, but most of them receive different degrees of education in other respects, which qualify them to earn their bread in life in various ways; and which, independent even of religious instruction, by enlarging the understanding, necessarily raises a man in his own estimation, and

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sets him above the mean and dirty crimes to which the temptations and hardships of life might otherwise expose him."

"The early establishment of parochial schools, &c. * * * have unquestionably raised the character and improved the condition of the lower orders in Scotland, have arrested the progress of vice and idleness, and have rendered the maintenance and management of the poor a comparatively easy task, and a work of real benevolence."

In twenty-two years from 1750, there were 116 executions in the Midland counties, 117 in the Norfolk circuit; and in twenty-two years from 1749, there were 678 in London, or about *thirty* per annum; while in Scotland, as near the same period as we can ascertain, they averaged less than *four* per annum.

A great law authority, Chief Justice Fortescue, assigned a very different reason for the disgraceful superiority in number of the English executions in his time. "More men are hanged in Englonde in one year," says he, "than in Fraunce in seven, *because the English have better hartes;* the Scotchmenne likewise never *dare* rob, but only commit larcenies." Upon this, the Reverend Francis Wrangham very fairly remarks, "True; they are taught the terrors of the Lord and eschew evil." We attach more weight to the remark of Dr. Currie, than to that of the old English judge. "A majority of those who suffer the punishment of death for their crimes, in every part of England, are, it is believed, unable to read or write," says Dr. Currie; he might have said, nearly all of them, instead of a majority. "A slight acquaintance with the peasantry of Scotland," says the Doctor, "will serve to convince an unprejudiced observer, that they possess a degree of intelligence not generally found among the same class of men in the other countries of Europe. In the very humblest condition of the Scottish peasants, every one can read, and most persons are more or less skilled in writing or arithmetic, and have obtained a degree of information corresponding to these acquirements."

The Scotch school system was originated by an act of King James the Sixth, of the 10th of December, 1616, four years before the landing of the Pilgrims, and ratified by an act of Charles the First, 1633; but the first effectual provision was by an act of 1646, for the first time compelling the assessment of a tax and payment of a master's salary, in

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every parish in the kingdom, for the express purpose of educating the poor; "a law," says the enthusiastic Scotch writer last quoted, "which may challenge comparison with any act of legislation to be found in the records of history, whether we consider the wisdom of the ends in view, the simplicity of the means employed, or the provisions made to render these means effectual to their purpose." This excellent statute was, of course, repealed on the restoration of Charles the Second, in 1660; but it was reënacted in 1696, in precisely the same terms, and is the basis of the present system, the noble legacy of the Scottish Parliament. Its effect on national character may be considered to have commenced about the period of the Union, 1707, and, with the peace and security arising from that event, to have produced the extraordinary change in favor of industry and good morals, which the character of the common people of Scotland has since undergone.

The school system has not operated differently in Scotland from its uniform effect wherever it has been tried. Holland, Prussia, and the Pays de Vaud, the best educated countries in Europe, are also the most moral. Prussia, which has carried her common-school system to higher perfection than any other nation, is remarkably free from crime. For seventeen years, ending in 1834, according to the statement of Herr Von Kampz, the executions in Prussia were 123; in 1832, 1833, and 1834, there were only *two* in each year, and the average number of murders in a year was *seven and one third*. Prussia has a population of 13,566,897, according to the Weimar Almanac for 1837. These numbers, therefore, are much smaller in proportion to population than in Massachusetts; lesser crimes, it is believed, are proportionally rare in Prussia.

To show how great has been the influence of the school establishment of Scotland on the peasantry of that country, it is only necessary to revert to the description given by that true-hearted patriot, Fletcher of Saltoun. In the year 1698, he declared, that, "There are at this day in Scotland, two hundred thousand people begging from door to door. And though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, by reason of this present great distress (a famine then prevailed), yet in all times there have been about one hundred thousand of these vagabonds, who have lived with-

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out any regard or subjection either to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature." He then ascribes to them abominations too vile to be quoted; and goes on to tell us, that no magistrate ever could discover that they had been baptized, or in what way one in a hundred went out of the world. They lived in promiscuous incest, and were guilty of robbery, and sometimes murder. "In years of plenty," says he, "many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, *burials*, and other public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together."

This is no true picture of Scotch life now. In less than half a century from Fletcher's time, common schools had softened this savage race, and in less than a century transformed them into the most moral and orderly people in Europe. There are few beggars in Scotland; there are no poor rates in Scotland; while in England every eighth or ninth man is a pauper, and the poor rate for forty years has consumed some five or six millions of pounds sterling a year. In Scotland the wages of labor maintain the laboring classes; in England they are inadequate by an alarming deficiency. In Scotland they have fewer crimes, and those which occur are less malignant. In 1834, the proportions were as follows.

	Sentenced to Death.	Executed.	Sentenced to Transportation for Life.	14 Years.	7 Years.
In England,	480.	34.	864.	688.	2,501.
Scotland,	6.	4.	30.	47.	195.

These are the points of difference. England saves the expense of public schools, and the saving costs her fifty millions of dollars a year in Courts, Prisons, Penal Colonies, and Poor Rates, not to reckon ruined hopes, broken hearts, blasted characters, and the wretchedness of tens of thousands living in shame and agony, a living death, whom free schools would have brought up to honor and happiness and a useful life. England has left the public morality to take care of itself, and the comment is heard in groans and written in blood.

We will go into no further argument to prove that education is cheaper than ignorance; and that the most rigid economy, so that it be not stone-blind to consequences, would dictate a liberal expenditure for the preservation and eleva-

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tion of the public morals, and for the exercise, developement, and wholesome sustenance of the public intellect. Nor will we waste a word upon the self-evident proposition, that our education will operate beneficially in proportion as it is perfected. It must be perfected, and that by providing better teachers.

The Normal school must begin with females, because there is more unappropriated female talent than can be brought into action; because females can be educated cheaper, and, in the first instance quicker, and better, and will teach cheaper after they are qualified; because the primary schools, which properly belong to females, are in the worst condition, and need most to be reformed, and because, by reforming these, we thereby improve all the higher schools. By raising up the foundation we necessarily elevate the superstructure. An improvement in the rudiments of education, among children of from four to ten years of age, would be felt through all the schools as these young scholars passed into higher classes. The public would perceive the benefit, and enter with alacrity into the measures necessary to carry out a thorough reformation.

Let the high work, so auspiciously commenced, go on steadily to its glorious consummation. Let Massachusetts, which for two hundred years has led the way in the cause of good learning, suffer none to go before her now. Let her still bear aloft the torch which others will be proud to follow. While others emulate her bright example, she will have contributed largely to that mighty movement, which is to enfranchise and to bless the world.

ART. II. — *The Writings of* GEORGE WASHINGTON; *being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and Other Papers, Official and Private, selected and published from the Original Manuscripts, with a Life of the Author, Notes, and Illustrations.* By JARED SPARKS. Vols. I. and XII. Boston: American Stationers' Company. 1837.

THE two volumes now before us complete the publication of Mr. Sparks's edition of Washington's writings. The

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American press has produced no work of higher value. The character of the Author transcends all vulgar praise. The interest of the events, which form the subjects of his writings, is inferior to nothing in history. The qualifications of the Editor, literary and moral, are of the highest order; and his opportunities, every thing that could be desired for the skilful performance of his work. We may add, that the typographical execution is beautiful; equal to that of any work, which has issued contemporaneously from the British press, except works avowedly of luxury, in which nothing is aimed at but the gratification of the eye.

We consider the publication of a standard edition of the writings of Washington, as a matter of importance in a national point of view. Of the auspicious influence of the principles of Washington over public opinion throughout the country, which happily is still highly operative, much must be ascribed to the unexpended force of his personal ascendency and the freshly-remembered power of his personal intercourse. These, with the lapse of time, must daily grow fainter. His contemporaries are nearly all gone. Of those, who in any way took counsel with him, scarce one remains to counsel us. One solitary eyewitness of his exploits and risks on Braddock's field is known to survive. Occasionally, at a public gathering, a fourth of July assemblage, or a Cincinnati celebration, we have an opportunity of taking the hand, which Washington had taken. That trembling old man, who is groping his way towards a seat, was, at a time when his hands could wield something more formidable than a crutch, one of his body-guard at Brandywine and Germantown; and here is one who saw him, when, pale with indignation, he encountered General Lee on his retreat, at Monmouth. As you come down to the period of his Presidency, the number of course increases of those, who were entering on public affairs toward the close of his career; but the solitary survivor of the first Senate of the United States, and of the company, who broke bread with the Father of his Country on the day of his first inauguration as President, has passed off the stage within a few months. A race has risen up who knew not Joseph, but to whom his revered memory, loaded with the praises of his country and mankind, has descended as a precious legacy. To give to this memory of the greatest of heroes, and the most prudent of statesmen, its

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fullest force and abiding perpetuity with coming generations, — to supply the place of that influence which flowed from personal intercourse, — to dispute with oblivion the possession of any part of this august compound of high principle, ripe wisdom, spotless patriotism, and happy fortune, is the province of literature. He must speak directly to posterity from the printed page. This impress of his mind and character must be perpetuated in the volumes of his works, for the guidance of all succeeding generations. If the task of preparing his works for publication be negligently, unskilfully, or faithlessly performed, it is not merely a wrong done to his literary character, which, however respectable it might be deemed in a common great man, is the faintest ray in Washington's crown of praise, but it tends to impair his rightful influence with posterity, and to defraud the country of a portion of its precious heritage.

For this reason, we consider Mr. Sparks as having rendered a public service greatly beyond performing, in a finished style of excellence, a highly important literary task. He has contributed to place Washington's character beyond the reach of accident, and to insure to his principles and to his example the most abiding influence on affairs. He has offered to the good and patriotic of other countries an authentic collection of his writings in an attractive form; and thus done all that can be done to extend their rightful sway into other political societies. Not least, by thus judiciously performing his great task, he has prevented it from falling into incompetent and ill-qualified hands, and spared the country the shame and sorrow of seeing low passions, and mean prejudices, and party biases of any kind incorporated into a work which of all others should be beyond their reach.

In addition to the more substantial merits of Mr. Sparks's work, he is entitled to the highest praise for the pains taken with those subsidiary matters, on which the convenience of a book for use essentially depends. It is amply supplied with indexes. The General Index at the conclusion of the twelfth volume exceeds one hundred pages, and enables the reader at once to refer to every prominent fact and name. The work is illustrated with several fac-similes, a variety of topographical surveys, plans of the principal military operations, and several beautiful portraits. In the first volume will

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be found Stuart's celebrated head of Mrs. Washington, and in the twelfth a full length portrait of her in her youth, both beautifully engraved by Cheney. The quantity of illustrative matter, original and selected, contained in the Appendixes, exceeds one thousand finely printed pages. This is exclusive of the notes distributed through the body of the work.

We have, on a former occasion, entered with sufficient minuteness into an explanation of the plan pursued by Mr. Sparks in editing this work; and have laid before our readers ample specimens of the most interesting portions of the contents of the earlier volumes. We have also spoken at length of his editorial qualifications, of which the successive volumes of the great publication have confirmed our estimate.* In this way, we have already anticipated a considerable portion of what might properly belong to a review of the complete edition of the Writings of Washington. It may not be improper, however, as the work is now complete, to take a brief glance of the contents of the several volumes, by way of refreshing our memory, and forming an adequate idea of the whole.

Volume the First, which has recently appeared, is devoted to the biography, and contains a condensed narrative of the facts in the life, of Washington. This point is stated with precision, because in some quarters it has been spoken of, as if it were intended for a critical or philosophical discourse on the genius and character of Washington. To regard it in this light would be to take an entirely false view of it, and to bring it to a standard, to which it was never meant to be referred. But on this subject we may have a word or two more to say, in the progress of our article. The Appendix to this volume contains an article on the origin and genealogy of the family of Washington; a minute account of his last illness and death; the proceedings of Congress in consequence of his decease; an anonymous composition designed as a monumental inscription; and Washington's will.

The matter of the remaining volumes, eleven in number, is divided into five parts. The *first* Part contains official letters relating to the old French or Seven Years' War, and private letters before the Revolution. No one volume of the series is richer in new matter than the second volume, in which this first part of the work is contained. The Ap-

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XXXIX. pp. 467 et seqq.

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pendix is particularly valuable in this way. It presents us details, ampler than any thing previously possessed by the public, on many interesting topics, and sufficient information on several, concerning which nothing of consequence was known before. This observation will be sufficiently substantiated, by running over the list of the sections of the Appendix. Among them are such articles as the following ; — Washington's early papers ; the death of Jumonville ; battle of the Great Meadows ; Braddock's defeat ; brief extracts from a diary during his attendance at the first Congress in Philadelphia ; extracts from Washington's diary, while residing on his estate at Mount Vernon in 1760 ; and his journal of a tour to the Ohio river, in 1770.

Part *the second* comprehends the largest division of the work, and extends to six volumes, from the third to the eighth, both inclusive. This part contains the correspondence and miscellaneous papers relating to the American Revolution. They form Washington's history of the Revolutionary war ; the great man unconsciously relating the history of the great deed ; rivalling the wisdom, long-suffering, perseverance, and fortitude of the exploits, by the only things in which it could be equalled, the discretion, pertinence, and simplicity of the multifarious communications, orders, reports, and expositions, by which the mighty movement was carried on to its triumphant result. If it be the highest praise of a poet, weaving his studied strains in contemplative ease, to have produced no line which dying he might wish to blot, how much more glorious to come out of the hurry and confusion, the toil and danger, ay, the mortal effort and agony of such a revolution, — the birth-struggle of an empire straining into existence through agony and blood, — without having from surprise, inadvertence, or passion thrown a hasty word upon paper, beneath the dignity of the man or his position. But we are betrayed beyond our present purpose, which is simply analytical. The Appendixes to these volumes also contain the most curious details. Among those best entitled to this character, is the fifth section of the appendix to the sixth volume, entitled, "Lord North's Views at different Stages of the American War." This document consists principally of a series of extracts made by Sir James Mackintosh from the letters and notes of George the Third to Lord North, throwing a new light on the disposition of that minister as to the prosecution of the war. For this very curious

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document Mr. Sparks expresses his obligations to Lord Holland, by whom, with characteristic liberality, it was furnished for this work.

Part *third*, contained in the ninth volume, consists of private letters, from the time that Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-chief of the army to that of his Inauguration as President of the United States; — five or six most eventful years, in which the country, exhausted, feverish at once with languor and irritation, faint with the deferred hope of blessings to spring from independence, fermenting with vast and vague theories of new constitutions, settlements, and enterprises, was kept in manageable condition, and within the reach of the ordinary resources of policy, mainly by what may be called the latent influence of Washington. Though he was at this time a retired chieftain, a private citizen, — Cæsar, when he drove the last cohort of his rival from that field of Pharsalia which fixed the fortunes of the world for a thousand years, did not exercise a more sovereign influence over men and things, than that which was now exercised by Washington, without conscious purpose and without effort. His influence, unauthorized by any office, not expressed in orders, not enforced by troops, insensibly emanating, rather than visibly going forth from Mount Vernon, breathing union amidst the elements of discord, inspiring hope when all hope seemed to have turned to sadness and despair, saved the country, in that fearful interval between the peace and the Constitution. What entirely new combinations of events and influences of characters might have formed and manifested themselves, had the great Washingtonian element ceased to exist at the close of the Revolution, it is of course idle to inquire. But, supposing all other things to have remained as they actually were, it is not too much to say, that it is very doubtful, whether, without him at its head, the federal convention would have commanded enough of public confidence to be sustained in maturing its work; or whether, supposing it matured and submitted to the people, nine States would have ratified it, but for the preëxisting conviction that a chief of the experimental government could be found, in whose pure hands its untried powers, — deemed dangerously large, — would be administered for the sole good of the country; or whether, supposing the constitution to have been adopted, there could have

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been a concentration of public opinion sufficiently powerful to carry any other candidate but Washington into the Presidency without dangerous collisions. Even as it was, the languor of the public mind, in reference to the new constitution, is strikingly illustrated by the fact, that, at the first meeting of the first Congress appointed for the 4th of March, a quorum of the House of Representatives did not convene till the 1st of April; nor then, without diligent efforts on the part of those present, by messengers and letters, to induce their tardy brethren to come in.

The *fourth* Part, which occupies the tenth and eleventh volumes of the work, is devoted to letters official and private from the beginning of the Presidency to the end of the life of Washington. The mere annunciation of the subject-matter of this division of the work is for the present sufficient. The Appendixes to these volumes are full of the most curious details of the political history of the times, both public and what is commonly called secret. Among the topics which form the subject of these notices are Washington's visit to the Eastern States; the dissensions in the cabinet, and the differences between Jefferson and Hamilton; the appointment of an Envoy Extraordinary to the court of Great Britain; opinions of the cabinet, advising Mr. Monroe's recall from France; papers relating to the imprisonment of Lafayette at Olmutz; remarks of Washington on Monroe's "View of the Conduct of the Executive of the United States," copied from manuscript notes; and several papers relative to the appointment of officers in the army, in 1798. We name these as a specimen only of the curious illustrative documents, appended to the tenth and eleventh volumes.

The *fifth* and last division of the work is contained in the twelfth volume, and consists of speeches and messages to Congress, proclamations, and addresses. The Appendix to this volume contains a specimen, at considerable length, of Washington's agricultural and business correspondence; a highly interesting discussion of the question of the authorship of the Farewell Address; an essay of great moment on the religious opinions and habits of Washington; and several lists, collected and digested with great care, of public functionaries during his career. The whole work concludes with ample Indexes.

It is due to the important character of this publication, that

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some literary notice of the manner in which it has been prepared should be laid before our readers. In our article on the second and third volumes of the work, we stated the most important particulars relative to the plan on which it was projected, and the mode of executing it, as derived from the introduction to the first and second Parts. A few particulars in addition, are given in the preface to the twelfth volume. The great mass of papers which accumulated in Washington's hands, during his long and varied public career, having been carefully preserved by him at Mount Vernon, were at his decease bequeathed with that estate to his nephew Bushrod Washington, who was for more than thirty years one of the justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. While in the hands of Judge Washington, and shortly after the decease of his revered relative, they were consulted by Chief Justice Marshall, in the preparation of his "Life of Washington." Ten years ago they were confided by Judge Washington to Mr. Sparks, for the purpose of being used in preparing the work, which he has now so successfully brought to a close. The original papers, including Washington's own letters, and those received by him, and amounting to more than two hundred folio volumes, were a few years since purchased by Congress of Mr. George C. Washington, to whom they had been bequeathed by his uncle, the Judge, and are deposited in the archives of the Department of State.

It will be readily understood that the present publication, although extending to twelve volumes, contains but a portion of what is embraced in the original papers. Mr. Sparks at one time entertained the idea of publishing in a separate work the entire collection. This eventually no doubt will be done; but it will be an undertaking too expensive for any but the public resources. Mr. Sparks candidly admits the difficulty of the task of selection, but states it to have been made with care and deliberation, regardless of the time, expense, and labor of examination requisite for the task.

The materials for the notes and illustrations contained in the Appendixes, have been derived from various sources at home and abroad, mostly from unpublished manuscripts, not seldom from sources opened by the good fortune and diligence of Mr. Sparks, and to which it is by no means certain that any future inquirer will have equal access. They pos-

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sess the strongest claim to be considered as authentic, and as new contributions to history.

Mr. Sparks acknowledges himself under very great obligations to General Lafayette for the papers and information directly furnished by him, and his services in facilitating the researches made by Mr. Sparks in the public archives of Paris. Among the materials thus placed at his disposal, were numerous papers relative to the American Revolution, and a copy of the entire correspondence of the General with the French government. We are able to vouch, from personal inspection, for the importance of the contributions thus made toward the preparation of this great national work.

The curious and interesting paper, already alluded to, as containing extracts from the correspondence between George the Third and Lord North, was, as we have already stated, kindly communicated by Lord Holland to Mr. Sparks, and is regarded by him, perhaps with justice, "as the most remarkable document connected with the history of the Revolution." This document proves, that from the year 1777, Lord North was decidedly opposed to the prosecution of the war, and for that reason earnestly desirous of retiring from the ministry. He was retained in office by the direct appeals and the urgent entreaties of the king. It is perhaps a solitary instance, in a matter of such moment, that, under a constitutional government, a prince of moderate capacity, of no military experience, and without personal popularity, should, by the simple force of obstinacy, have kept the country at war, against the judgment of his constitutional advisers, for five long years; and equally so, that a minister should be kept in the position of waging a war, "of the success of which he despaired, and the principles of which he in his heart disapproved," from mere "indolent weakness and sense of honor." The document in question throws an unexpected light on a point in our revolutionary history of some curiosity. It will be recollected, that some exception was taken to the mode in which, in the Declaration of Independence, the king is held personally responsible for the oppressive measures, which brought on the war, which measures were necessarily adopted in pursuance of acts of Parliament. Although this coloring was given to the matter, in conformity with the view taken by Mr. Jefferson, and those who thought with him, of the peculiar relation of the colonies to the crown, yet this

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correspondence of King George the Third with Lord North proves, that he was with justice, and not merely in theory, to be regarded as personally responsible for the war.

As we do not know, that we shall have an opportunity of reverting to this topic, we present the reader with the following interesting extract of a letter from the King to Lord North, of the month of June, 1779;

"No man in my dominions desires *solid* peace more than I do. But no inclination to get out of the present difficulties, which certainly keep my mind very far from a state of ease, *can incline me to enter into the destruction of the empire.* Lord North FREQUENTLY says, that the advantages to be gained by this contest can never counterbalance the *expense.* I own that in any war, be it ever so successful, if persons will sit down and weigh the *expense,* they will find, as in the last, that it has impoverished the nation enriched [?];* but this is only weighing such events in the scale of a tradesman behind his counter. It is necessary for those whom Providence has placed in my station, to weigh whether expenses, though very great, are not sometimes necessary to prevent what would be more ruinous than any loss of money. The present contest with America I cannot help seeing as the most serious, in which this country was ever engaged. It contains such a train of consequences as must be examined to feel its real weight. Whether the laying a tax was deserving all the evils, that have arisen from it, I suppose no man could allege, without being thought more fit for Bedlam than a seat in the Senate; but, step by step, the demands of America have risen. Independence is their object, which every man, not willing to sacrifice every object to a *momentary and inglorious* peace, must concur *with me* in thinking this country *can never submit to.* Should America succeed in that, the West Indies must follow, not in independence, but in dependence on America. Ireland would soon follow, and this island reduce itself to a poor island indeed." — Vol. VI. p. 535.

Similar sentiments run through all the extracts, and at the close is the following remark of Sir James Mackintosh;— "1783, *after the peace.* His language proves that his feelings about America were not altered, though circumstances compelled him to change his conduct."

* We suppose the meaning is, "has impoverished even the successful party in the contest." Were it not the King himself, that speaks, we should say, that "*impoverished* the state *enriched*" is at best excusable homicide of his Majesty's English.

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Mr. Sparks, after making his acknowledgments to Lord Holland for the communication of the above highly interesting paper, expresses his thanks to Mr. Justice Story for the lively interest manifested in the work, and the benefit derived from his suggestions and advice.

"To Mr. Samuel A. Eliot, also," (he adds,) "I would here make a public acknowledgment of the substantial and valuable aid he has, in various ways, lent to my undertaking, the successful issue of which has been promoted in no small degree by his friendly offices and personal exertions." — Vol. I. p. xii.

In reference to the Life of Washington, which fills the first volume, Mr. Sparks observes, that he has endeavoured to follow closely the order of time, adopting the plan of a personal narrative, and introducing collateral events no farther, than was absolutely necessary to give completeness to this design. Still the public theatre, on which so much of the life of Washington was passed, makes it necessary that his biography should assume in some degree the form of a history of the times in which he lived. Anecdotes have been interwoven by Mr. Sparks, and such incidents of a private and personal nature as are known; but it must be confessed, that these are more rare than could be desired.

"I have seen," he remarks, "many particulars of this description which I knew to be not true, and others which I did not believe. These have been avoided; nor have I stated any fact, for which I was not convinced there was credible authority. If this forbearance has been practised at the expense of the reader's entertainment, he must submit to the sacrifice as due to truth and the dignity of the subject." — p. xiii.

It is to be regretted, that pains were not taken, a generation or more ago, to record the still surviving recollections of Washington, particularly of his early life, before the authentic had become inextricably mingled with the apocryphal and the fabulous. Such anecdotes still unquestionably exist in the neighbourhood of Fredericksburg, and there are collections of them which aspire to credibility, but we fear without certain warrant.* Mr. Sparks has unquestionably pursued a

* We except from this remark, a few interesting traditions which have been collected by Mr. Paulding, in his popular "Life of Washington," which appear to be derived from authentic sources, and contain nothing incredible.

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judicious course, in admitting nothing into his narrative which is not sufficiently vouched; but it would well reward the pains which might be requisite, on the part of some one possessing the needful convenience of locality, to gather from living sources, from recent tradition, and from what family memorials exist, all such anecdotes and reminiscences as would throw light on the formation of the character of Washington, or furnish domestic illustrations of its peculiarities.

It is not too late to accomplish this pious work with excellent effect. Almost all that we know of the personal history of Milton and Shakspeare, to say nothing of Dante and Petrarch, and most of the heroes of Plutarch, was gathered up after a greater lapse of time, (in the last named case far greater,) than has yet passed since the death of Washington. It would be worth all the labor and research, which such a work might require, to substantiate, if it is capable of being substantiated, the single anecdote of the care taken by the father of Washington to inculcate upon his son the obligation of veracity.

Justice to this great undertaking requires, that the plan and purposes of Mr. Sparks, in collecting the writings and composing the life of Washington, should be apprehended. With respect to the former, it was his design, as has already appeared, to make such a selection from the great mass, as would comprehend all that was historically important, eminently characteristic, or for any other reason highly interesting. In preparing the Life, which is to be carefully considered in connexion with the Works, it was plainly Mr. Sparks's intention to sketch the principal incidents in the history of Washington as a man, a commander, and a statesman; and to present with them a full developement of his principles of action, and his opinions on all the important questions which presented themselves in his long career, as constituting the aggregate of his character. This has been done in the narrative form as the most usual, the most natural, and the best adapted to the mass of readers. To have engaged at great length in general reflections, in political discussions, or speculations on remote consequences, would have been to change the character, not less than to transcend the necessary limits, of the work. It was the purpose of Mr. Sparks to narrate, and not to discuss, the character of Washington; to write an account of his life, and not an essay upon it. Among other

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reasons which might be assigned, were it necessary (which it is not) that any should be assigned, why an author should select that mode of treating a subject which approves itself to his own judgment, we might say, that the plan pursued by Mr. Sparks is the only one, on which he could maintain a philosophical neutrality as to many constitutional controversies. It was highly desirable, that this first authentic edition of the literary remains of the Father of his Country should go forth without prejudice. This could hardly have been the case, had they been accompanied with a biographical introduction of a different character. We must not be understood as being insensible to the fact, that the character of Washington, and its connexion with the destinies of the country, form one of the noblest themes for a philosophical discussion. No power of analysis is too great to master it, no eloquence too lofty to set it forth. As the highest merely human impersonation of all the patriotic virtues, it is a topic destined of course to become more and more important with each succeeding age, and as successive intellects shall have developed its magnitude. Mr. Sparks has proposed to himself in this publication, to draw up the record, and collect the materials, by the aid of which this great task must be performed; and the service, which he has thus rendered to the cause of constitutional liberty, is of vast importance.

In practical matters, men are mainly taught by example. It is cheap wisdom to proclaim to the world, that ambition ought not to corrupt the heart of the successful chieftain, and that having served, or even saved, the country furnishes no title to enslave it. So long as the universal experience of mankind runs to the contrary, and no one capable of abusing power is found to miss the opportunity, these maxims pass for a kind of ascetic morality, which hypocrites preach and simpletons believe. Each new tyrant and usurper finds his conduct justified, not merely by the example of his predecessors, but by a kind of common understanding among men, that power, as of course, is to be abused. The more splendid the career, and the more dazzling the success, of a conqueror, and the more complete his triumph over the liberties of other countries and his own, the more diffusive and abiding the corruption of his example. Alexander, and Cæsar, and Napoleon have done more to pervert public opinion, and debauch the judgment of the young, than can be undone by

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all mere inculcations of principle. The success of the party of Cæsar, after he himself was struck down, drove Brutus at once to the conclusion, that Virtue was but a name ; and who can undertake to say, how much energy of character has been misdirected, how much mad ambition has been awakened, how many wars waged, and how much blood shed, in the lapse of ages, in consequence of setting up before the world the spectacle of an empire coextensive with the universe, and perpetuated through ages, which was founded on the criminal ambition of one man. When the books fail to furnish an effectual counterpoise to this bad influence, and men are ready, like Brutus, in despair to fly to the conclusion, that there is no sphere of activity for Goodness in the province of civil government ; that this world belongs of necessity to a political anti-christ ; a character like Washington arises, like the sun of righteousness, with healing in its wings. Virtue, sneered at and mocked, takes courage. Disinterested labor for the good of others emerges from the humble paths of parochial charity. The intelligence of the mass of mankind, long derided as visionary, and set at nought as impracticable, feels itself vindicated and fortified. The world for a while looks on in incredulous wonder. Distrustful expectation watches the steps of the hero. His gracious words are heard with incredulity ; his generous acts surveyed with doubt. The time is sorrowfully foreboded, when the delusion will be over, the mask be dropped, and the meagre, people-loving Consul, will expand into the sleek and purple Dictator. But, if he persevere in the path of patriotism and of duty ; if he march from victory to victory with unelated brow, and cling to the cause in disaster as well as triumph ; if he consecrate his sword to the protection of the law ; and, when the warfare is ended, if he send his army to their homes and abdicate the power which their devotion confers on him, then, indeed, it is cold praise to say he has served, or even saved, his country. He has served, and, humanly speaking, has saved his race. He has "given ardor to virtue and confidence to truth." He has led forth patriotism from a cell, and placed her on a throne. He has robbed the tyrant of his plea, and shown that it is not necessary that mankind should be enslaved ; and from that time forward, till the voice of history is struck dumb, wheresoever on the face of the globe an effort is made to establish constitutional government, there

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his example is present to furnish an ever-ready answer to the ever-ready objection, that, though the theory is good, it is impossible to put it to practice.

It is not too early to perceive the salutary influence of the example of Washington, both in the United States and elsewhere. It is impossible for any President, however popular and however ambitious, to be a candidate for election a third time. There has unquestionably been one instance where the authority of his example has saved the country from this result. It was Washington's ardent wish and purpose to retire after the first term, and thus to give effect to the provision of the Constitution, founded, as it was, in the deepest practical wisdom and prophetic foresight. It would be matter of regret, that he yielded to the importunity of his friends, had not his reëlection been necessary to save us from being drawn into the vortex of the French Revolution. Had he retired after the first four years, he might have created the same necessity of a single term of service, and thus supplied a remedy for one of the great practical defects of our system, — that the incumbent is tempted to employ the patronage of his office the first term, to promote his election to a second. Abroad the example of Washington has already imposed checks upon those, whom the ever-changing, unstable incidents of their crude revolutions is bringing to the head of affairs. We are sometimes perhaps impatient, when a man like Bolivar, for instance, allows himself to be addressed by the title of the "second Washington"; but it is well for his country and the world, that he is willing to wear it. There is virtue in the name. It imposes restraint. The second Washington places himself under obligations not to fall too monstrously and glaringly below the standard of the first. He carries about with him a monitor which rebukes ambition, and enjoins all the duties of patriotic self-denial. It is not easy to overrate the importance of such an influence, at a period when so many experiments of constitutional government are making in the world. It becomes a kind of secular dispensation, designed to exercise not merely its immediate agency, but a continuous, progressive power over human affairs; constraining all men, who want courage wholly to defy and set at nought the awakened opinion in favor of right and liberty, to reduce themselves to some decent conformity with the great exemplar.

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Perhaps there never lived a man in respect to whom it was so unimportant from what ancestry he sprung; but it is a matter of curiosity to inquire to whom belongs the honor of his descent. When Henry the Eighth suppressed the religious houses and bestowed their endowments on his favorites, he granted, in 1538, to Lawrence Washington, gentleman, of Northampton, "the manor of Sulgrave, parcel of the dissolved priory of St. Andrew, with all the lands in Sulgrave and Woodford, and certain lands in Stotesbury and Colton, near Northampton, late belonging to the said priory, with all the lands in Sulgrave late belonging to the dissolved priories of canons Ashley and Catesby." The consideration of this grant is not stated. From this Lawrence Washington, who died seized of the manor of Sulgrave in 1583–4, George Washington is lineally descended. Farther back the family is not lineally traceable; but the name of Washington, under a varying orthography, is found in several parts of England at different periods, from the close of the twelfth century. From the authorities collected by Mr. Sparks, with great diligence and the best opportunities of observation, at the Herald's college in London, and in the county histories of England, it appears that Hertburn was the original name of the Washington family, and that the name of Washington was assumed by William de Hertburn, between the years 1261 and 1274, from the parish of that name in the county of Durham, which belonged to him.

Among the descendants of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, Henry Washington was distinguished for his brave and resolute defence of Worcester in the civil wars. A letter written by him to General Fairfax, who summoned him to surrender to the army of the Parliament on the 16th May, 1646, is preserved, which shows a spirit not unworthy of the name.

"It is acknowledged by your books, and by report out of your own quarters, that the king is in some of your armies. That granted, it may be easy for you to procure his Majesty's commands for the disposal of this garrison. Till then, I shall make good the trust reposed in me. As for conditions, if I shall be necessitated, I shall make the best I can. The worst I know and fear not; if I had, the profession of a soldier had not been begun nor so long continued by your Excellency's humble servant." — Vol. I. p. 544.

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It is quite noticeable, that in this letter, not merely the firmness and spirit, but the mode of contemplating and treating the subject, and even the turn of the phrase, bear a striking resemblance to those of our Washington.

In the civil line, Joseph Washington of the same family, was a lawyer of eminence. He was the compiler of the first volume of "Modern Reports"; the author of "Observations on the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Kings of England," published in 1689; of an "Abridgment of the Statutes to 1687," and of a "Translation of Lucian." Perhaps it may be deemed a higher praise, that he was the friend of Lord Somers, and the translator of Milton's "Defensio pro Populo Anglicano," in reply to Salmasius.

In the parish church at Sulgrave, in the year 1793, was still to be seen a stone slab, on which was a brass plate with this inscription in the old English character. "Here lyeth buried the bodys of Lawrence Washington, Gent. and Anne his wyf, by whom he had issue four sons and seven daughters; which Lawrence dyed y^{e} —th day of ——, 15—, and Anne deceased 6th day of October, An. Dom. 1564." On the same stone is a shield much defaced, and effigies in brass of the four sons and seven daughters. Over the four sons is a figure larger than the rest, which is supposed to be the father's effigy. There was formerly one over the seven daughters, but this is gone. It may be presumed from the blanks in the above inscription, that it was prepared by Lawrence Washington during his life. He died on the 19th of February, 1584, and the manor of Sulgrave descended to his eldest son, Robert. This son was twice married, and had ten sons and six daughters. The oldest of the sons, Lawrence, had seven sons and seven daughters. The oldest of these sons was Sir William Washington of Packington. He married the half-sister of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, and is supposed to have been the father of Sir Henry Washington, commemorated above. The second and fourth of these seven sons, were John and Lawrence Washington, who emigrated to Virginia about the year 1657. They were the great grandsons of Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave, and John was the great grandfather of GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The emigrations of the family were not limited to America. By the genealogical tables appended to the first volume

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it appears, that some of the name had emigrated to Holland. Among the letters of Washington contained in this collection, is one of the 20th of January, 1799, in reply to a letter from James Washington, a young German officer, who had written to his illustrious namesake in America, claiming kindred, as far as can be inferred from the answer, and seeking employment in the army of the United States. A few years ago, the diplomatic representative of the king of Bavaria at the Court of the Netherlands, was a gentleman of the same name, who considered himself as of the family of the American Washington.

John and Lawrence Washington, second and fourth sons of Lawrence, who was the grandson of Washington of Sulgrave, emigrated, as has been observed, to Virginia about 1657, and settled at Bridge's Creek on the Potomac river, in the county of Westmoreland. John had been a student at Oxford; Lawrence had resided on an estate at South Cave, in Yorkshire, which gave rise to an erroneous tradition among his descendants, that their ancestor came from the North of England. Chief Justice Marshall speaks of the emigration as proceeding from that quarter. The two brothers purchased lands in Virginia, and became successful planters. Not long after his arrival in this country, John Washington was employed with the rank of Colonel in the wars with the Indians in Maryland. The parish in which he lived was called by his name. He married Anne Pope, and had two sons, Lawrence and John, and one daughter. The oldest son, Lawrence, married Mildred Warner of Gloucester County, and had three children, John, Augustine, and Mildred.

Augustine Washington, the second son, was twice married. His first wife was Jane Butler, by whom he had three sons, Butler, Lawrence, Augustine, and a daughter Jane. Butler and Jane died in infancy or childhood. His second wife was *Mary Ball*, to whom he was married on the 6th March, 1630; GEORGE was the oldest of six children of this marriage; the other children were Betty, Samuel, John Augustine, Charles, and Mildred. George Washington was born on the 22d of February, 1732, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, a great grandson of the first emigrant to America, and sixth in descent from Washington of Sulgrave. When Henry the Eighth granted this portion of the spoils of the

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church to the worshipful mayor of Northampton, it was probably the least of his calculations, that he was building up a family, from which would spring the leader of a revolution, destined to despoil the crown of England of a mighty empire on that continent, whose existence was then but barely known in Great Britain.

The father of Washington, after the birth of George, removed from Westmoreland to Stafford County, to an estate on the eastern bank of the Rappahannoc river opposite Fredericsburg, where he died at the age of forty-nine, leaving to be divided among his children a respectable landed property, chiefly acquired by his own industry and enterprise as a planter.

The oldest son, Lawrence, inherited the estate afterwards known as Mount Vernon. The lands and mansion, where the father was living at the time of his death, were bequeathed to George. Each of the other children received a separate plantation; and, in full reliance on the prudence of their mother, it was directed in his will, that the entire income of the estate should be at her disposal till they should respectively come of age. This important trust, with that of the entire education and bringing up of her children, was discharged by this excellent lady with equal fidelity and success. She had the satisfaction of beholding the advancement of all her family in life, and of living to see her oldest son, after gloriously passing through two wars, raised to the highest place in the gift and in the affections of his countrymen.

The means of public education in Virginia, at the time that Washington was of age to receive it, were not abundant; but the traditions of his family must have been strongly favorable to that kind and degree of culture, which belong to the man of property and the magistrate. His great grandfather had been a student at Oxford, and as the family had probably risen rather than sunk in fortune since the emigration, and never more so than in the generation preceding Washington, he must have imbibed with his first training the taste for intellectual improvement which becomes a country gentleman. He was sent, however, to no higher institution than a common school, where instruction was confined to the English language, and to the elements of exact science. No particular accounts are preserved of his progress; but *the child is father of the man.* We know what Washington must have

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been even at school. Tradition reports him inquisitive, docile, and diligent, early evincing a taste for military manœuvres ; with a passion for athletic exercises and field sports which never deserted him, and possessing an ascendency over his fellow pupils, in virtue of the early manhood of his deportment, and the firmness of his boyish probity. Authentic memorials of these early days remain. His school-books have been preserved from the time he was thirteen years old. They represent him as entering at that age on the study of geometry. But there is one of a still earlier date, strongly characteristic of his cast of mind. It contains what he calls *forms of writings*, such as notes of hand, bills of exchange, receipts, bonds, indentures, bills of sale, land-warrants, leases, deeds, and wills, written out with care, the prominent words in large and round characters, in imitation of a clerk's hand. This would have been deemed a precocious developement of taste for the hereditary calling, in the son of some exceedingly knavish scrivener ; but for the offspring, not yet thirteen years of age, of a prosperous Virginia gentleman, a lad, moreover, fond of military exercises and field sports, this early aptitude for rigid precision of business forms a point of character, by which the Washington of after life was eminently distinguished.

These forms are followed, in the juvenile compend alluded to, by selections in rhyme, recommended more by the sentiments they contain, and the religious tone that pervades them, than by their poetical merit. Washington had no poetry in his nature, in the common acceptation of the term. His intellectual and moral qualities were too severely chastened, and brought into a system too strictly and harmoniously proportioned and trained for practical life, to admit those effusions of feeling, which are poured out from the hearts of many young men, possessing in their minds and characters far less of every element of poetry than Washington. Such poetry in early life may be the mark either of a defective or of an exquisite organization. In most cases it is mere imitation and habit. Forward lads lisp in numbers, because they are most familiar with this form of composition. They catch it from the poetical extracts which are declaimed from their school-books ; there is a charm in mere rhythm for the youthful ear ; and there is a little artifice in the measure of verses and the echo of rhymes, within the youthful grasp, and flattering to

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the boyish vanity of achievement. It was in keeping with the character of Washington, even as a boy, to take that sober view of the vanity of mere jingle, which leads all but those who have a spark of the true inspiration, to forswear the "gentle science," as soon as they come of age.

The most curious portion of the contents of the school-book alluded to, is a system of practical maxims for the government of conduct, drawn from miscellaneous sources, (as Mr. Sparks supposes, but as we should rather think, transcribed from some code of good manners or treatise of deportment, which may have been placed by a careful parent in his hands,) and arranged under the head of *Rules of Behavior in Company and Conversation.*

We have already alluded to them in a former volume of our Journal. They unquestionably contain many of the elements of the future Washington. They present him in the interesting light of the architect of his own character; for, though it may be supposed from their tone and import, that they were transcribed into his book of Miscellanies by the direction or advice of a person older than himself, yet the manifest conformity of his own conduct with their spirit proves, that he adopted them as imperative rules of behaviour. On this subject Mr. Sparks makes the following remarks;

"In studying the character of Washington it is obvious, that this code of rules had an influence upon his whole life. His temperament was ardent, his passions strong, and, amidst the multiplied scenes of temptation and excitement through which he passed, it was his constant effort and ultimate triumph to check the one and subdue the other. His intercourse with men, public and private, in every walk and station, was marked with a consistency, a fitness to occasions, a dignity, decorum, condescension, and mildness, a respect for the claims of others, and a delicate perception of the nicer shades of civility, which were not more the dictates of his native good sense and incomparable judgment, than the fruits of a long and unwearied discipline."—Vol. I. p. 7.

Washington continued at school till nearly fifteen years of age. The last two years were devoted principally to the study of geometry and trigonometry, and their application to surveying. In this he became a proficient. His books, still in existence, contain the plans and calculations of his surveys of the fields and plantations near the school-house. Of some

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of these interesting memorials, Mr. Sparks has presented his readers with a fac-simile, containing a specimen of his hand-writing at the age of sixteen, and of his mode of delineating the diagrams and entering the calculations of his surveys. He was acquainted with the use of logarithms, and the entries in his books are made with great neatness and precision. The habits thus early commenced were kept up during his life. His business papers, day-books, legers, and letter-books, in which, before the Revolution, no one wrote but himself, exhibit specimens of the same care and exactness. He appears to have taken great satisfaction in the construction of diagrams and tables. His agricultural operations were subjected to this kind of methodical statement; and the facts of leading importance to him, in his various military and civil stations, were reduced as far as practicable to a tabular form.

His education appears to have been confined to the branches above intimated. It was nowhere the practice of the elementary schools a hundred years ago, to introduce children of tender years to the various branches of abstract science, elegant literature, and what is called useful knowledge, which are now taught with equal liberality and advantage; and there is reason to think that the advantages possessed by Washington were rather less than might have been enjoyed at that period at the schools in large towns. Mr. Sparks thinks that he received no systematic instruction, even in the grammar of the English language; nor did he at any period of his life apply himself to the study of the ancient tongues. After the French officers arrived in the country, in the Revolutionary war, and particularly while the army of the Count Rochambeau was acting in coöperation with his own, he paid some attention to the French language; but at no time could he write it or converse in it, nor did he in fact trust himself to translate any paper.

Before he left school, Washington passed through one of the crises of his life, important alike to himself and his country. His elder brother Lawrence, a child of the former marriage, commanded a company which had been present at the capture of Porto Bello and the disastrous siege of Carthagena, pathetically commemorated by Thomson. He had acquired the esteem and confidence of General Wentworth and Admiral Vernon, the commanders of the expedition. In honor of the latter, Captain Lawrence Washington gave the

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name of Mount Vernon to the estate, which he had inherited from his father, and which on his decease he bequeathed to George. Having observed the military turn of his brother, and looking upon the British navy as holding forth the best prospect of advancement, he obtained a midshipman's warrant for George in the year 1746, when he was fourteen years old. This step was taken with his acquiescence, if not at his request, and he prepared with a buoyant spirit to depart for his destination.

He was thus on the point of quitting the soil of his native country, at the most susceptible period of life. He was about to enter a path of duty and of advancement, in which, if he had escaped the hazards and gained the prizes of his career, he could scarcely have failed to be carried to distant scenes, — to be employed in foreign expeditions, in remote seas, perhaps in another hemisphere. He would certainly have failed of the opportunity of preparing himself, in the camp and the field, in the approaching war, to command the armies of the Revolution. Not improbably he would have sunk under the pestilential climate of the West Indies and the Spanish Main. Such seemed however almost inevitably his career. His older brother approves and advises, he himself probably desires it, and the warrant is obtained. But resistance arose in the yearnings of a mother's heart. Some fragments of correspondence relative to this interesting event have been preserved. The following is an extract from a letter written to Lawrence Washington by his father-in-law, William Fairfax, dated the 10th of September, 1746.

"George has been with us, and says he will be steady, and thankfully follow your advice as his best friend. I gave him his mother's letter to deliver, with a caution not to show his. I have spoken to Dr. Spencer, who I find is often at the widow's [Mrs. Washington's], and has some influence, to persuade her to think better of your advice, in putting George to sea with good recommendations." — Vol. II. pp. 415, 416.

The following extract on the same subject was written by Mr. Robert Jackson to Lawrence Washington, and dated at Fredericsburg, the 18th of October, 1746.

"I am afraid Mrs. Washington will not keep up to her first resolution. She seems to intimate a dislike to George's going to sea, and says several persons have told her it was a bad scheme. She offers several trifling objections, such as fond,

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unthinking mothers habitually suggest; and I find that one word against his going has more weight than ten for it. Colonel Fairfax seems desirous he should go, and wished me to acquaint you with Mrs. Washington's sentiments. I intend shortly to take an opportunity to talk with her, and will let you know the result."— Vol. II. p. 416.

Nothing, however, could overcome the repugnance of his widowed mother. The entire destinies of Washington and of America, as connected with each other, hung suspended on the decision of that "fond, unthinking mother"; and out of that fondness and thoughtlessness sprang a wisdom and counsel, to which, in all human appearance, America is indebted for her Washington.

After leaving school, for reasons not particularly stated, he went to reside with his brother Lawrence at Mount Vernon. The winter was devoted to his favorite study of the mathematics, and to practice in surveying. Here he formed or cultivated the acquaintance of Lord Fairfax and other members of the Fairfax family. With this family his brother Lawrence was connected by marriage. They possessed great landed estates, and were persons of intelligence, education, and influence. Lord Fairfax was educated at Oxford, and was one of the writers in the Spectator. At an advanced period of life, he established himself in the valley of the Shenandoah, and died at the age of ninety-two, near the close of the Revolution. William Fairfax, his distant relative, was a native of England. In early life he served in the army in Spain, and in the East and the West Indies. He was governor of New Providence and the Bahamas, and was thence transferred to some office in New England. While there, he was requested by Lord Fairfax to take the agency of his affairs in Virginia. To his acquaintance with the members of this family, Washington was, in the outset of life, mainly indebted for the opportunity of performing those acts, which laid the foundation of his subsequent success, advancement, and fortune.

Lord Fairfax possessed an immense landed estate between the Potomac and Rappahannoc rivers, extending back to, and beyond, the Alleghany Mountains. These lands had never been surveyed. Precisely at this period the attention of men of adventure had begun to stretch away beyond the Blue Ridge; a region now filled with a dense population, with all

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the works of human labor, and all the bounties of a productive soil; then shaded by the native forest, infested with savages, and claimed as the dominion of France. That portion of the country which lay nearest the settlements had been granted, for the most part probably to large proprietors in extensive tracts, which had never been surveyed. Settlers were forcing their way up the streams, selecting the fertile places, and occupying the lands without title. It became a very important object with the proprietors, in the absence of any system of public surveys like that which now prevails, to have their estates accurately divided into lots and measured. Lord Fairfax had formed so favorable an opinion of the general capacity of young Washington, and his fitness for this employment, that he confided to him the important trust of surveying his estates. He set off on his first expedition in March, just a month from the day he was sixteen years old, accompanied by George, the son of William Fairfax.

This may be considered as another critical moment in the career of Washington. At a period of life when, in a more thickly settled country, the intelligent youth is occupied with academic studies in schools and colleges, Washington was stretching the chain through the valleys of the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mountains; passing days and weeks in the wilderness, beneath the shadow of primitive forests; listening to the voice of the waterfall, reposing from the labors of the day on a bearskin, with his feet to the blazing logs of a camp fire; and sometimes startled from the deep slumbers of hard-working youth, by the alarm of the Indian war-whoop. This was the gymnastic school in which Washington was brought up. The training corresponded to the vocation, *hæ tibi erunt artes.* Here the quick glance was formed, destined afterwards to range across the field of battle, through clouds of smoke and rows of bayonets. This was the school in which his senses, preserved from the taste for the detestable indulgences miscalled pleasures, in which the flower of adolescence so often droops away, were early braced to the sinewy manhood which becomes the "Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye."

A journal of his first surveying expedition is still preserved. It is filled with details, which, slight as they are in themselves, are, from such a source, of high interest. The following letter sets him before us in all the truth of real life.

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The very fact of the preservation in his journal of the rough draft of such a letter, written at the age of sixteen, and away from home, is characteristic. It was probably done, not by way of any possible use of future verification, but in order to correction, and for the sake of transcribing a fair copy.

"Dear Richard; The receipt of your kind favor of the 2d instant afforded me unspeakable pleasure, as it convinces me that I am still in the memory of so worthy a friend, — a friendship I shall ever be proud of increasing. Yours gave me the more pleasure, as I received it among barbarians and an uncouth set of people. Since you received my letter of October last, I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed; but, after walking a good deal all the day, I have lain down before the fire on a little hay, straw, fodder, or a bearskin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats; and happy is he, who gets the berth nearest the fire. Nothing would make it pass off tolerably but a good reward. A doubloon is my constant gain every day, that the weather will permit of my going out, and sometimes six pistoles. The coldness of the weather will not allow of my making a long stay, as the lodging is rather too cold for the time of year. I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been in Fredericktown." — Vol. II. p. 419.

Other letters are preserved, which show that the heart of the youthful Washington was the prey of other cares, than those incident to his laborious professional excursions in the mountains. The following is given by Mr. Sparks as a specimen of this portion of the correspondence.

"Dear Friend Robin; As it is the greatest mark of friendship and esteem, which absent friends can show each other, to write and often communicate their thoughts, I shall endeavour from time to time, and at all times, to acquaint you with my situation and employments in life, and I could wish you would take half the pains to send me a letter by any opportunity, as you may be well assured of its meeting with a very welcome reception.

"My place of residence at present is at his Lordship's [Lord Fairfax's], where I might, were my heart disengaged, pass my time very pleasantly, as there is a very agreeable young lady in the same house, Colonel George Fairfax's wife's sister. But that only adds fuel to the fire, as being often and unavoidably in company with her revives my former passion for your Low-land beauty; whereas, were I to live more retired from young women, I might in some measure alleviate my sorrow, by bury-

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ing that chaste and troublesome passion in oblivion ; and I am very well assured, that this will be the only antidote or remedy."— Vol. II. pp. 419, 420.

The occupation of a surveyor was pursued by Washington for about three years. He acquitted himself to the entire satisfaction of his employers in the trusts committed to him. We have already seen that his labors were liberally compensated ; and, in the opportunity which he possessed of learning the position of valuable lands, no doubt he had it in his power still further to promote his interest. He became acquainted with a portion of the country then little known, but which was shortly to become the theatre of his first military service. He was brought into close contact with a class of men whom he was shortly to meet in another character, and had some intercourse with the natives of the forest. He soon received a commission as a public surveyor, which gave authority to his surveys, and enabled him to enter them in the county offices. This circumstance, conjoined with a character for accuracy, diligence, and probity, secured him all the employment which he desired, in this lucrative pursuit. On the whole, it was scarcely possible that he could have passed the three years of his life, from the age of sixteen, more advantageously, either with reference to his private interest or his preparation for the great work to which Providence had called him.

In these occupations he had made himself so favorably known, that, on the division of the province into several military districts, which took place at this period in consequence of the alarms of French and Indian hostilities, he was appointed in one of them to the place of Adjutant-general, with the rank of Major. It was his duty in this capacity to assemble and exercise the militia, to inspect their arms, and enforce all the requisitions of the militia law, with the responsibility of preparing the troops under his command for actual service in the war which was supposed to be impending. It was an office at once of trust and emolument, the pay being one hundred and fifty pounds per annum. This appointment gave a spring to the military tastes of Washington. He devoted himself to the study of tactics, and to the manual exercise, with the assistance of his brother, and other officers who had served in the late war. He read the principal authors on the military art, and joined practice to theory,

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as far as the circumstances of his limited command would admit.

Washington had hardly engaged in this service, when he was called to another, which, though it lay within the circle of his domestic duties, was in some respects eminently critical. His elder brother, Lawrence, was naturally of a slender constitution of body, and was now suffering under alarming symptoms of disease at the lungs. A voyage to Barbadoes was prescribed by the physician, and George was selected as the companion and friend. They sailed to the West Indies in the month of September, 1751, and arrived at Barbadoes after a voyage of five weeks. This is the only voyage ever undertaken by Washington. His brother's health receiving no permanent improvement, he determined, after passing the winter in Barbadoes, to cross to Bermuda in the spring; and in the mean time George was sent back to Virginia, to accompany Mrs. Lawrence to the latter island. He accordingly reëmbarked for Virginia, and, after a most tempestuous voyage, arrived in the Potomac, having been absent more than four months. Some fragments of the journal kept by him during his absence have been preserved, and they afford proof that nothing worthy of his observation, by land or by water, escaped his notice.

While at Barbadoes he was attacked with the small-pox. At the present day it is scarcely possible to realize the terrors which this loathsome disease once inspired. Its appearance in cities was the signal for dispersion; when it prevailed in the country, people imprisoned themselves in their houses; when it broke out in armies and fleets, dismay seized the stoutest hearts. It was the precursor of discomfiture and ruin, except when, from the proximity of the enemy, his forces also fell beneath the scourge of the impartial plague. When it subsided, it was after the death of thousands; and, of those who survived, the larger number bore permanent and often melancholy traces of its ravages. Successive means have been discovered or devised to disarm it of its terrors, and it has so long ceased to be a scourge of modern society, that due thought is not had of the blessing we enjoy in the exemption. But, at the period of which we speak, the art of inoculation had obtained but little prevalence; and, such were the prejudice and ignorance of the age, that the practice of it was, as late as 1769, forbidden by law in Virginia. On the

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17th of November, Washington was "strongly attacked," to use the expression in his journal, with this disease, with which he was confined to his lodgings till the 12th of the following month. Some slight traces of it are said to have remained upon his countenance for the rest of his days.* He thus happily, in the morning of his life, and in the favorable climate of the tropics, passed through this formidable ordeal, and, before his military career commenced, was placed beyond the reach of danger from a disease, which, in one of his letters to the Governor of Virginia in the year 1777, he mentions "as more destructive to an army in the natural way, than the enemy's sword." While the American army under Washington lay before Boston in the first campaign, it was one of his cares to guard it against this disease, although we cannot persuade ourselves there was any truth in the reports brought by the British deserters from Boston, that a design was entertained by the royal commander to communicate it to the American camp. The circumstance, on which Washington was inclined to give some credit to this report, may be explained in a manner less abhorrent to humanity; nor would he, probably, on a calm review of the facts, have entertained the suspicion that General Howe could meditate so nefarious a project.

The hopes of restoration which induced his brother Lawrence to prolong his stay in the West Indies were disappointed. He returned the following summer, and died prematurely and greatly lamented, at the age of thirty-four, leaving a widow and an infant daughter. Great care and responsibility devolved by his decease on his brother George. The estate of Mount Vernon was bequeathed to the daughter, with remainder to George in case of her decease. He was also, though the youngest, the most active executor; and, in consequence of his greater familiarity with the affairs of his brother, the chief labor of transacting the business devolved upon him. This trust was equally laborious and responsible, but was not permitted to divert him from his public duties, which on the contrary increased in magnitude. Soon after Governor Dinwiddie's arrival, the colony was portioned into four grand military divisions, Major Washington's commission was renewed, and he was intrusted with the command of one of them. It was the northern district, consisting of several

* Paulding's *Life of Washington,* Vol. I. p. 64.

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counties. These were in turn to be visited; their militia drilled, and inspected, and reviewed; and a general system of manœuvre and discipline introduced. In this way, at the age of twenty years, and under a commission from the royal governor, and beneath the influence of the excitement of an impending struggle with the hereditary enemies of the British name and their savage allies, Washington was training himself and his fellow-citizens for the part they were to perform in a more eventful drama.

The great struggle between England and France for the monopoly of the continent, — a struggle which had held the civilization of the colonies in check for a century, — was now drawing to a crisis. England was granting large tracts of land on the western slope of the Alleghanies to the Ohio Company; France, both from Canada and from Louisiana, was stretching a *cordon* of posts across the interior. Neither the property nor the jurisdiction belonged of right to either; but it was appointed, that, through this agency, the empire of the great European powers over the present United States should be subverted, and the path opened to American Independence.

Intelligence was received at Williamsburg, that the French governor of Canada was pushing troops toward the head waters of the Ohio, and alienating the neighbouring Indian tribes from the British interest. Governor Dinwiddie determined to despatch a commissioner, in due form, invested with proper powers, to confer with the officer commanding the French troops; to inquire on what authority he acted, and to learn his designs. The commission was delicate and hazardous, requiring discretion and ability, experience of the mode of travelling in the woods, power of physical effort and endurance, and knowledge of the Indian character. All these qualifications were found combined in Washington; he promptly accepted the trust tendered to him, and started the next day on its execution. Washington's Journal of this expedition was published at the time, and is repeated in the standard authorities for his biography. That of his faithful companion, Gist, has recently been given to the world.* He dwells with greater particularity on an event, which Washington's modesty led him to despatch in a more summary

* In a late volume of the *Transactions of the Massachusetts Historical Society.*

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manner. After encountering all the hardships of the wilderness and the season (it was mid winter), and various embarrassments thrown in his way by the French, Washington reached the head-quarters of their commanding officer and performed his errand. On the return of the party, the horses failed, from the inclemency of the weather and the severity of the march; and Washington and his companion Gist (left by the friendly Indians), with their packs on their shoulders and guns in their hands, were compelled to make the toilsome march on foot. They were soon joined by Indians in the French interest, who had dogged them ever since they left the fort. One of them employed all the arts of savage cunning to get possession of the arms of Washington, and lead him and his companion astray in the forest. Baffled by their wariness, and perceiving them at nightfall to be worn down by the fatiguing march, the savage turned deliberately, and, at a distance of fifteen steps, fired at Washington and his companion. The rifle missed its aim. Washington and Gist sprang upon him and seized him. Gist was desirous of putting him to death. His life was certainly forfeited, but Washington would not permit it to be taken in cold blood. After detaining him a few hours he was allowed to escape; and they pursued their journey, worn and weary as they were, through the dreary watches of a long December night.

Well knowing that the savages must be on their trail, they dared not stop till they reached the Alleghany, the clear and rapid stream, which, rising in Pennsylvania, sweeps round through the southwestern counties of New York, and descends into Pennsylvania, to unite with the Monongahela and form the Ohio. They hoped to be able to cross the Alleghany on foot, the only comfort which they promised themselves from the stinging severity of the weather. Unfortunately, the river was neither frozen across nor wholly open, but fringed with broken ice on each shore, while the middle of the stream was filled with cakes of ice furiously drifting along. With one poor hatchet, to use Washington's own expression, they commenced the construction of a raft. It was a weary day's work, not completed till sunset. They launched with it upon the stream, but were soon so surrounded and crushed by drifting masses of ice, that they expected every moment that their raft would go to pieces, and they themselves perish at midnight in the dark eddies of the

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mountain stream. Washington planted his pole to stop the movement of the raft, till the fields of ice should float by; but the raft was driven with so much force against the pole, that he himself was thrown out into ten feet of water. He saved himself by catching at one of the logs of which the raft was composed. Notwithstanding all their efforts, it was impossible to get the raft to either shore, and they were obliged to pass the night on an island in the middle of the river. Here they suffered extremely from the intense cold. The hands and feet of Mr. Gist were frozen. Happily, in the morning they found the ice between the island and the eastern bank of the river, sufficiently hard to bear their weight. They crossed without further disaster, and the same day reached a trading post recently established by Mr. Frazier, near the spot where the fatal battle of the Monongahela was fought a year and a half afterward.

Such was the commencement of Washington's active public services. Such was his journey, undertaken at a season of the year when the soldier is permitted to go into quarters; in a state of weather when the hunter houses himself, and the woodman sits cowering over the fire; undertaken amidst perils from which escape was all but miraculous; and this too, not by a penniless adventurer, fighting his way through desperate risks to promotion and bread, but by a young planter already advantageously known to the community, and possessed of an ample property. In this his first official employment, at the age of twenty-one, Washington displayed upon an obscure theatre, where if he fell he would have fallen as a leaf in the forest, that courage, resolution, prudence, disinterestedness, and fortitude which through life marked his conduct. He sprang into active service considerate, wary, and fearless; and that Providence, which had raised him up for other and higher duties, seemed to spread a protecting shield over his beloved head. It rarely happens in the busiest and most fortunate life, to escape unharmed from such risks, as were incurred by Washington, when thrown from the raft, or when the Indian's rifle was discharged at him within a few paces.

Major Washington's Journal and the letter of the French commander were laid before the Council. The latter was considered unsatisfactory, and the case was deemed by Governor Dinwiddie to have arisen, when he was authorized and required by his instructions to repel encroachment by force.

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An order was issued to raise two companies of one hundred men each. One of them was placed under Major Trent, who was well acquainted with the frontiers, and was sent forward to enlist his company among the back settlers and traders, and to establish a fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and the Monongahela, the present site of Pittsburg, which Washington, on his expedition the preceding winter, had noticed and mentioned as an admirable spot for a military station. The other company was confided to Washington, who remained at Alexandria, as a convenient station for the rendezvous of his men, and the collecting and forwarding of the supplies, which were to be sent forward to the fort. The Governor's instructions to the officers were of a warlike character. They were directed to drive away, kill, destroy, or seize as prisoners, all persons, not the subjects of the king of Great Britain, who should attempt to settle, or take possession of, the lands on the Ohio river or its tributaries.

These preliminary steps being taken by the Governor and Council, the Legislature was ordered to assemble ; circulars were addressed to the governors of other provinces, and an attempt made, but unsuccessfully, to arouse a warm feeling throughout the colonies. When the Assembly convened, authority was granted for the enlistment of a regiment. Washington declined being regarded as a candidate for the chief command, but readily accepted the second place. The regiment consisted of six companies, and was placed under the command of Colonel Joseph Fry, an Englishman by birth, educated at the University of Oxford, skilled in the mathematical sciences, and much esteemed for the amiable qualities of his character. Extraordinary encouragement was held out to those who enlisted, by liberal grants of bounty lands. The ministry at London sanctioned the measures which had been adopted by Governor Dinwiddie, and authorized him to call to his aid two independent companies ; one from New York, and one from South Carolina.

Colonel Washington continued his head-quarters at Alexandria till the 1st of April. By this time, two companies had been collected at that place, with which he marched to Will's Creek, where he arrived on the 20th, having been joined on the way by another company under Captain Stephen. The march was impeded by the badness of the roads and the difficulty of procuring wagons to convey the baggage.

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A part of Major Trent's men had already reached their destination, and had begun to build a fort at the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela. Just before reaching Will's Creek, an exaggerated report was brought to Washington, that this party had been captured by the French, who had descended in great force from Venango. The fact was true, although the numbers of the French had been greatly over-estimated. This was the first overt act of hostility in the memorable Seven Years' War; that war which, in Europe, was rendered memorable by the ascent of Prussia, under Frederic the Great, into the first rank of powers, and by the vigor which Pitt infused into the British councils; and in America, by the downfall of the French power.

The fort, which the French had captured from Trent's party, was enlarged and completed by them, and received the name of Duquesne, in honor of the Governor of Canada.

These events placed Washington in a very embarrassing and critical position. His colonel was still absent, and the responsibility of deciding and acting rested on himself. He occupied an advanced outpost; the French were penetrating the country with a force greatly superior to his own, and reported to be much greater than it was, and his instructions required him to meet force with force. Under these circumstances, after calling a council of war, and addressing letters to the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, he resolved to push boldly into the wilderness, clear and prepare the road as they proceeded, and, if possible, reach the Monongahela at the mouth of Redstone Creek, and establish a fort there. Nature was to be overcome, before the enemy was reached. Trees were felled, rocks removed, bridges thrown across torrents and rivers, and causeways built over marshes. Commissaries were faithless, or unable to fulfil their contracts in the wilderness, and great distress arose for want of bread. So much do men endure and suffer, to gain opportunities to destroy each other and to perish!

He started on the 1st of May with his little force, about one hundred and fifty men. Some time was lost in an unsuccessful experiment, to ascertain whether the party might not descend the Youghiogany. Scarcely returned from exploring this stream, Washington received a communication from Tanacharison, a friendly Indian chief, otherwise called

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the Half-King, then with his people on the Monongahela, informing him that a party of French had been out two days marching toward him, and determined to attack the first English they should meet. This account was confirmed by another, representing the French as only fifteen miles distant. Ignorant of their numbers, or at what moment they might approach, Colonel Washington hastened to a position at a place called the Great Meadows, where he cleared away the bushes, threw up an entrenchment, and prepared, as he called it, "a charming field for an encounter." He then sent out scouts on horseback, who, however, returned without having seen any traces of the enemy. But the camp was alarmed, and kept under arms all night. Mr. Gist, the following day, came into camp, and reported that a party of French, consisting of fifty men, had been at his settlement the day before, and that he had observed their tracks within five miles of the Great Meadows.

It was now deemed certain that the French were approaching with hostile designs. Washington's instructions left no alternative, and the best preparations were made to meet them, which the circumstances admitted. About nine o'clock at night, another express arrived from the friendly Indian chief, stating that he had seen the tracks of two Frenchmen, and that the whole detachment was near. Colonel Washington immediately put himself at the head of forty men, and started to join the Half-King; the rest of his force was left to protect the camp. The rain fell in torrents, and the soldiers forced their way with difficulty through the dark and intricate woods.

The whole night was consumed in the march; and they reached the Indian encampment about sunrise. A council was held with Tanacharison and his chief warriors, and it was agreed that they should march in concert against the French. Two Indians were sent out to reconnoitre the enemy, who were found concealed in an obscure position, a half a mile from the main road. Colonel Washington and his men advanced on the right, and the Indians on the left, in single file. The French, as soon as they perceived them, seized their arms, and the firing commenced on both sides. A smart skirmish ensued for a quarter of an hour, when the French ceased to resist. M. de Jumonville, their commander, and ten of his men were killed. Twenty-two were

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taken prisoners, one of whom was wounded. One of Colonel Washington's men was killed, and two or three were wounded; of the Indians none were killed. This event occurred on the 28th of May, 1754. The prisoners were conducted to the Great Meadows, and thence, under a guard, to Williamsburg.

This incident has furnished the occasion of perhaps the only reproach, which has been brought against the pure fame of Washington, in his long and various career; and an unfortunate and accidental circumstance, which will presently be stated, has been seized upon, as sustaining the justice of this reproach, by the authority of Washington himself. As this was the commencement of a war, each party was desirous of fastening upon the other the blame of striking the first blow. The English accused the French of having commenced hostilities, by forcibly dislodging Trent's men from the fort they had begun to build, at the Fork of the Ohio, and regarded the advance of Jumonville's party as the invasion of the territory of Virginia. The French maintained, that neither of these acts was warlike, that Jumonville was sent on a peaceful errand to summon Washington and his force to quit the country, and that the attack upon him, which resulted in his death and that of ten of his men, was unprovoked and murderous. This view of the subject took strong hold of the public mind in France, and has been perpetuated to the present day. It was founded on the erroneous report of the facts transmitted at the time by M. Contrecœur, the commander of the body from which Jumonville was detached, and who was probably misled by a Canadian, who, by his own account, escaped, at the commencement of the action. Mr. Sparks has related the events from the official letters of Washington, which are now for the first time published, and which are sustained by such extracts from the Journal of Washington, captured a year after at Braddock's defeat, as the French government at the time thought fit to disclose. It would require too much space to discuss the subject in all its details. It forms the matter of a very able annotation by Mr. Sparks, in the Appendix to the second volume of the work before us. Whatever may be thought of the pretexts on which England and France claimed a right to exclude each other from a territory that belonged to neither, the destruction and capture of Jumonville and his

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band were legitimate consequences of the state of inchoate war, into which the parties by successive steps had plunged themselves. The French commander at Venango had been apprized a year before, that the Governor of Virginia regarded his progress toward the Ohio as an encroachment on the British territory, and had placed his government in a position to sustain the principle of this message by force. The ministers at London approved his course. In pursuance of this policy, troops were raised, and an advanced party of Virginians entrenched themselves at the Fork of the Ohio. This party was dislodged by an overwhelming force of French and Indians, who entered the country in the array of war, with a train of artillery. Washington was known to the French commander to be on his advance, and Jumonville with thirty-five men was despatched toward him. The precise object of this detachment does not distinctly appear. Washington received constant information from settlers who were driven in, from traders, and from friendly Indians, leading him to suppose that the main body was in full advance upon him, and that Jumonville was sent forward to reconnoitre and procure information, or for some other hostile purpose. The position, in which he was finally surprised, confirmed the opinion. The positive instructions under which Washington was placed, left him no choice, and threw upon Jumonville the responsibility of the consequences. It is in fact astonishing, that, in the face of the events which immediately followed this enterprise, the French should, at any period, have regarded themselves as the party assailed.

By the death of Colonel Fry, Washington was left in command of the regiment, the strength of which was increased by a single company from Alexandria, whose commander, Captain Mackay, however, in consequence of holding a royal British commission, declined to put himself under the command of Washington. To obviate, in some degree, the inconveniences of this unhappy pretension, Washington pushed forward his companies to an advanced position, intending, if possible, to reach the banks of the Monongahela, and leaving Captain Mackay as a guard for the protection of Fort Necessity, the name which he had given to the entrenchment which he had thrown up at the Great Meadows after the affair with Jumonville. While pushing his way laboriously forward, Washington received information from In-

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dians and deserters, that Fort Duquesne had been reinforced from Canada, and that a strong detachment would shortly march against the English. The superior force of the enemy compelled a retreat to Fort Necessity. It was not the intention of Washington to halt here; but the exhaustion of his men, who had been without bread eight days, made it necessary to give them rest. A small quantity of flour was in store at the fort, and farther supplies were anxiously awaited. Time would fail us to recount, in detail, the incidents of the disastrous battle of Fort Necessity. This was a hasty work, thrown up by Washington, at the foot of the mountains; and, before reinforcements could arrive from Virginia, the joint French and Indian army was upon him. A sharp action took place on the 3d of July, 1754, which was kept up till a late hour in the evening. The Virginian force had become considerably reduced since its first entrance into the wilderness, the French outnumbered it greatly; but the French commander saw that he had to do with men, determined, if pushed to extremities, to sell their lives dear. He proposed a capitulation, and a parley was held to settle its terms. Van Braam, a captain in the Virginia regiment, and the only man in it who understood the French language, was sent by Colonel Washington to treat with the French commander. The articles of capitulation, drawn up in French, and treacherously or timidly assented to by Van Braam, speak of the prisoners made by the British "*dans l'assassinat du Sieur Jumonville*," "at the *assassination* of Jumonville." These articles were interpreted to Washington at midnight, under a drenching rain, amidst the wrecks of the battle which had lasted ten hours. The word *assassinat*, (as was steadily asserted by Washington and his brother officers, when, some weeks after, they first learned that such a word appeared in the original,) was not literally rendered by Van Braam. In a letter written to a person who had addressed him on the subject, Washington states, that the word *assassination* was not used, but that the term employed by Van Braam, was *death* or *loss*. The articles, in other respects, were unfaithfully rendered, either from ignorance or design; and, in fact, the idea, that any men (to say nothing of such a man as Washington), who were in a condition to make terms of capitulation, to retain their arms and baggage, and withdraw from the field, would agree to subscribe themselves assassins,

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is absurd. It must be but a poor spirit who would do this, even if reduced to surrender at discretion.

We have dwelt the longer on this point, because it is the only one of plausible reproach to the fame of Washington, and because the whole case and truth are, for the first time, unfolded by Mr. Sparks from the original documents. The correspondence of Washington was collated by him in the Office of the Board of Trade, at London, and he obtained copies from Governor Dinwiddie's letter-book now in the hands of an individual in England. His researches are the more valuable, as the public papers of Virginia for this period have been destroyed.

A similar remark might be made, in reference to the entire account of the battle of the Monongahela, more commonly called Braddock's defeat, one of the leading incidents in the life of Washington, as it is one of the most important events in the military history of the colonies before the Revolution. This interesting portion of his work was executed by Mr. Sparks, in a considerable degree, from original researches of his own. It is illustrated by a topographical sketch formed on personal inspection of the localities, and may be selected as one of the best specimens of the narrative style of the author.

"At this time Colonel Washington was seized with a raging fever, which was so violent as to alarm the physician; and, as an act of humanity, the general ordered him to proceed no further, till the danger was over; with a solemn pledge that he should be brought up to the front of the army before it should reach the French fort. Consigned to a wagon, and to the physician's care, he continued with the rear division nearly two weeks, when he was enabled to be moved forward by slow stages, but not without much pain from weakness and the jolting of the vehicle. He overtook the general at the mouth of the Youghiogany River, fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne, the evening before the battle of the Monongahela.

"'The officers and soldiers were now in the highest spirits, and firm in the conviction, that they should within a few hours victoriously enter the walls of Fort Duquesne. The steep and rugged grounds, on the north side of the Monongahela, prevented the army from marching in that direction; and it was necessary in approaching the fort, now about fifteen miles distant, to ford the river twice, and march a part of the way on the south side. Early on the morning of the 9th, all things

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were in readiness, and the whole train passed through the river a little below the mouth of the Youghiogany, and proceeded in perfect order along the southern margin of the Monongahela. Washington was often heard to say during his lifetime, that the most beautiful spectacle he had ever beheld was the display of the British troops on this eventful morning. Every man was neatly dressed in full uniform, the soldiers were arranged in columns and marched in exact order, the sun gleamed from their burnished arms, the river flowed tranquilly on their right, and the deep forest overshadowed them with solemn grandeur on their left. Officers and men were equally inspirited with cheering hopes and confident anticipations.

"'In this manner they marched forward till about noon, when they arrived at the second crossing-place, ten miles from Fort Duquesne. They halted but a little time, and then began to ford the river and regain its northern bank. As soon as they had crossed, they came upon a level plain, elevated only a few feet above the surface of the river, and extending northward nearly half a mile from its margin. Then commenced a gradual ascent at an angle of about three degrees, which terminated in hills of a considerable height at no great distance beyond. The road from the fording-place to Fort Duquesne led across the plain and up this ascent, and thence proceeded through an uneven country, at that time covered with wood.

"'By the order of march, a body of three hundred men, under Colonel Gage, made the advanced party, which was immediately followed by another of two hundred. Next came the general with the columns of artillery, the main body of the army, and the baggage. At one o'clock the whole had crossed the river, and almost at this moment a sharp firing was heard upon the advanced parties, who were now ascending the hill, and had proceeded about a hundred yards from the termination of the plain. A heavy discharge of musketry was poured in upon their front, which was the first intelligence they had of the proximity of an enemy, and this was suddenly followed by another on their right flank. They were filled with the greater consternation, as no enemy was in sight, and the firing seemed to proceed from an invisible foe. They fired in their turn, however, but quite at random and obviously without effect.

"'The general hastened forward to the relief of the advanced parties; but, before he could reach the spot which they occupied, they gave way and fell back upon the artillery and the other columns of the army, causing extreme confusion, and striking the whole mass with such a panic, that no order could afterwards be restored. The general and the officers

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behaved with the utmost courage, and used every effort to rally the men, and bring them to order, but all in vain. In this state they continued nearly three hours, huddling together in confused bodies, firing irregularly, shooting down their own officers and men, and doing no perceptible harm to the enemy. The Virginia provincials were the only troops, who seemed to retain their senses, and they behaved with a bravery and resolution worthy of a better fate. They adopted the Indian mode, and fought each man for himself behind a tree. This was prohibited by the general, who endeavoured to form his men into platoons and columns, as if they had been manœuvring on the plains of Flanders. Meantime the French and Indians, concealed in the ravines and behind trees, kept up a deadly and unceasing discharge of musketry, singling out their objects, *taking deliberate aim, and producing a carnage almost unparalleled* in the annals of modern warfare. More than half of the whole army, which had crossed the river in so proud an array only three hours before, were killed or wounded. The general himself received a mortal wound, and many of his best officers fell by his side.' *

"During the whole of the action, as reported by an officer who witnessed his conduct, Colonel Washington behaved with 'the greatest courage and resolution.' Captains Orme and Morris, the two other aids-de-camp, were wounded and disabled, and the duty of distributing the general's orders devolved on him alone. He rode in every direction, and was a conspicuous mark for the enemy's sharp-shooters. 'By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence,' said he, in a letter to his brother, 'I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation ; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet I escaped unhurt, although death was levelling my companions on every side of me.' So bloody a contest has rarely been witnessed. The number of officers in the engagement was eighty-six, of whom twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen. On the other hand, the enemy's loss was small. Their force amounted at least to eight hundred and fifty men, of whom six hundred were Indians. According to the returns, not more than forty were killed. They fought in deep ravines, concealed by the bushes, and the balls of the English passed over their heads." † — Vol. I. pp. 64 – 68.

" * See *Washington's Writings,* Vol. II. p. 469, Appendix."

" † A report has long been current in Pennsylvania, that Braddock was shot by one of his own men, founded on the declaration of a provincial soldier, who was in the action. There is another tradition, also, worthy of

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We have passed, from necessity, over the events of the twelve months, which intervened between the retreat from Fort Necessity and the battle of the Monongahela, at which Washington, as is well known, was present only as a volunteer, in the capacity of aid to the commander-in-chief. Neither is it in our power to follow him from the period of this disaster to the close of the war. It is sufficient to say, that from this time forward, young as he was, his reputation was firmly established, and his relation to the country ascertained. There is something scarcely explicable in the hold he had acquired of the minds of thoughtful men. Never did victorious consul return to republican Rome loaded with the spoils of conquered provinces, an object of greater respect, admiration, and confidence, than Washington, at the age of twenty-three, at the close of two campaigns, from one of which, he was able to save his regiment only by a painful capitulation; in the other, barely escaping with his life and the wreck of an army. He thus formed to himself on fields of disaster and defeat, a reputation for consummate bravery, conduct, and patriotism. The remarkable prediction of the Reverend Samuel Davis, afterwards President of Princeton College, must never be forgotten, when the early life of Washington is narrated. In a sermon preached about this period, to the volunteers of Hanover County, in Virginia, he uses this extraordinary language. "As a remarkable instance of patriotism, I may point out to the public, that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."

notice, which rests on the authority of Dr. Craik, the intimate friend of Washington from his boyhood to his death, and who was with him at the battle of the Monongahela. Fifteen years after that event, they travelled together on an expedition to the western country, with a party of woodsmen, for the purpose of exploring wild lands. While near the junction of the Great Kenhawa and Ohio Rivers, a company of Indians came to them with an interpreter, at the head of whom was an aged and venerable chief. This personage made known to them by the interpreter, that, hearing Colonel Washington was in that region, he had come a long way to visit him, adding, that, during the battle of the Monongahela, he had singled him out as a conspicuous object, fired his rifle at him many times, and directed his young warriors to do the same, but to his utter astonishment none of their balls took effect. He was then persuaded, that the youthful hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and ceased to fire at him any longer. He was now come to pay homage to the man, who was the particular favorite of Heaven, and who could never die in battle." — *Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. p. 475, Appendix.

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It is out of our power to pursue further the life of Washington. We have sketched the early life from the materials collected by Mr. Sparks, because it is of course in this portion, that the life of Washington is less exclusively than it afterwards becomes, the history of the country, and because, in reference to this period, Mr. Sparks's researches, valuable in every portion, contain the most original information.*

At the close of the war, he retired to Mount Vernon, which had now become his property, by the effect of his brother's bequest. He had been engaged in military service uninterruptedly for five years; and, at the age of twenty-six, when the majority of able and hopeful men are first emerging into general notice, he had, by his extraordinary and successful labors, gained reputation, influence, and a fixed character in public estimation. On the 6th of January, 1759, he married Mrs. Martha Custis, the widow of John Parke Custis, a lady three months younger than himself, distinguished for her beauty and accomplishments. She was the daughter of John Dandridge, and was, by the former marriage, the mother of a son six years old, and a daughter four. By this marriage a large accession was made to the property of Washington, already ample by the inheritance of Mount Vernon, and by the selection of large tracts of valuable lands, which he had been able to make as a surveyor. His attention was henceforward turned toward the management of his numerous plantations and his extensive private affairs. He also took upon himself the guardianship of Mrs. Washington's two children, and the care of their large property, which trust he discharged with the faithfulness of a parent, and the punctuality peculiarly his own, till the majority of the son, and the death of the daughter, in her nineteenth year. The matrimonial connexion of Washington was eminently happy, and continued for forty years, till his death. With her intimate acquaintances, the character of Mrs. Washington was the theme of untiring praise. To the nation at large, she was the object of affectionate respect; for it was known to all men, that she made the home of the Father of his country happy. Affable and courteous, exemplary in her deportment, remarkable for deeds of charity, unostentatious, and without vanity, she adorned private life by her domestic virtues, and

* In the foregoing sketch of the early life of Washington, use has been made of an address delivered at Beverly (Mass.), on the 4th of July, 1835.

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filled with dignity and grace every station to which her husband's eminence called her. There is no doubt, that much of the calm and equable action of Washington's character is to be ascribed to the happy influence of his wife, to the freedom from domestic care, resulting from her excellent management, and to the ever-springing renovation of exhausted spirits, which can rarely be enjoyed but in a cheerful home. It is to be regretted, that so few memorials are preserved of this excellent lady. Mr. Sparks has gratified his readers with a long extract from a letter to Mrs. Warren, of this State, written shortly after the return of the President from his tour in New England, which presents a delightful picture of a well-balanced female mind. *

Before he left the army, Washington had been elected to the House of Burgesses. As his duty prevented his personal attendance at the polls, and he was a candidate for the county which had been the theatre of his military command, the duties of which had required him at times to impress the property, to oppose the wishes, and sometimes disappoint the expectations of the people, prone to look to military commanders for more than they can accomplish, his triumph over four competitors was justly deemed an eminent proof of his abilities, and possession of the public confidence. It was the first place to which he was called by the popular favor, which from this time forward encompassed him as with a genial atmosphere while he lived, and distilled in tears of universal, heartfelt sorrow over his honored grave. During his attendance at the House of Burgesses, that delightful incident occurred, of which it might not be easy to find a parallel in the history of legislation. The presence of a pure and lofty character seems to convert the stern and arid forms of parliamentary procedure into the gentle courtesy of a chivalrous romance. Mr. Sparks quotes it from Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry."

"By a vote of the House, the Speaker, Mr. Robinson, was directed to return their thanks to Colonel Washington on behalf of the Colony, for the distinguished military services he had rendered the country. As soon as Colonel Washington took his seat, Mr. Robinson, in obedience to this order, and following the impulse of his own generous and grateful heart, discharged the duty with great dignity, but with such warmth of coloring and strength of expression, as entirely confounded

* Vol. I. p. 457.

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the young hero. He rose to express his acknowledgments for the honor; but, such was his trepidation and confusion, that he could not give distinct utterance to a single syllable. He blushed, stammered, and trembled for a second; when the Speaker relieved him by a stroke of address, which would have done honor to Louis the Fourteenth in his proudest and happiest moment. 'Sit down, Mr. Washington,' said he, with a conciliating smile, 'your modesty equals your valor; and that surpasses the power of any language that I possess.'"*

From this time to the beginning of the Revolution, a period of fifteen years, Washington continued a member of the House of Burgesses, seven years for the County of Frederic, and afterwards for that of Fairfax. There were commonly two and sometimes three sessions a year; and it appears from a record in his handwriting, that he gave his attendance punctually, and from beginning to end of almost every session. His influence in public bodies was that of good sense, attention to business, disinterestedness and integrity beyond suspicion, and general weight of character. He seldom spoke, never harangued. It is not known, that he ever made a set speech, or entered into a vehement debate. But his attention was unremitted; he thoroughly informed himself on the prominent topics, and, when occasion required, delivered his opinion clearly, concisely, and firmly. His judgment, as to the proper course of conduct to be observed by a member of a deliberative assembly, may be inferred from the counsel he gave to a nephew, who had just taken his seat, as a member of the Assembly.

"'The only advice I will offer,' said Washington, 'if you have a mind to command the attention of the House, is to speak seldom but on important subjects, except such as particularly relate to your constituents; and, in the former case, make yourself perfectly master of the subject. Never exceed a decent warmth, and submit your sentiments with diffidence. A dictatorial style, though it may carry conviction, is always accompanied with disgust.'" — Vol. I. p. 109.

It is probable that in the foregoing judgment, Washington does more than justice to the style of address which he condemns. It may be doubted whether conviction was ever wrought in a disgusted mind. Such a mind is unconsciously, and by a law of our nature, thrown into a position of dis-

* Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry*, 3d edit. p. 45.

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trust and incredulity. The extraordinary spectacle, so often witnessed, of grave assemblies, which sit admiring but passive listeners to the most eloquent harangues, from acute, well-instructed, and accomplished speakers, is to be explained by moral causes. The ancient rhetoricians unfolded the entire philosophy of this matter, when they taught that none but a good man could be an orator.

The legislative labors of Washington, in the interval between his retirement from the army, and the Revolution, of course furnished occupation for but a small part of his time. His chief pursuits were agricultural. He superintended his numerous and extensive plantations with the greatest assiduity. Mr. Sparks has preserved in his twelfth volume, a specimen of his agricultural papers, of great curiosity and interest. It is impossible, without an accurate inspection of these papers, to form an idea of the rigid method and the laborious punctuality, with which Washington transacted his own business, and which he required from all in his employment, not merely while resident at Mount Vernon, but during his administration, and while he was absent at the seat of government. At these times, as we learn from a note, by Mr. Sparks, to one of the detailed weekly reports of his manager, it was the custom of Washington to exact a similar report once a week, from the manager at Mount Vernon, of the proceedings on all the farms. These reports commenced with a meteorological table, the object of which was to communicate such a knowledge of the weather, as would enable Washington to form a more correct judgment of the amount of time, that the laborers could properly be employed at their work. The report contained a minute statement of the quantity and kind of labor performed by every individual in the establishment, and was required to be accompanied by an explanatory letter. These were answered by the President once a week or oftener, the answers sometimes filling two or three closely written sheets. They were first prepared in a rough draft, and then transcribed in a fair hand by Washington, a press copy being retained. This laborious process was pursued by him during the entire period of his administration.

The business of a planter at this period, in Virginia, partook to a considerable extent of the nature of commercial transactions. Tobacco was the great staple product in the

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lower counties, and to this Washington particularly gave his attention. The crop was shipped by him, in his own name, to his correspondents in London, Liverpool, and Bristol, on board vessels which came up the Potomac to Mount Vernon, or to other convenient points on the river. A portion of the returns was made in the articles of British manufacture required for the consumption of the household, and on the plantations, not excepting wearing apparel for every member of the family. Mr. Sparks has preserved specimens of the invoices of these articles. They are equally curious as illustrating the manners of the day, and humiliating as proof of the dependence of America on a foreign country. It affords an instructive lesson of political delusion, to cast one's eye over the list of imported articles, and reflect that intelligent British statesmen really thought, that America not only ought, but could, while beds of iron ore and of coal spread beneath the soil and interminable forests above it, be compelled by acts of Parliament, by the magic virtue of cockets and clearances, as Burke, in the bitterness of his derision, expressed it, to send three thousand miles across the Atlantic ocean, for ploughs, hoes, spades, and scythes.

Mr. Sparks has extracted, from an order sent to a tailor in London, a memorandum of the person of Washington, from his own hand. He describes himself as "six feet high, and proportionably made; if any thing, rather slender for a person of that height," and adds, that his limbs were long. This was at the age of thirty-one. His exact measure, Mr. Sparks observes, was six feet and three inches. One of the orders transmitted to London, for the usual annual supply, contains a grouping of articles which, though casual in itself, would not need to be disturbed in a philosophical classification. The list contained an order for eight busts, and closes in the following manner;

"*Directions for the Busts.*

"4. One of Alexander the Great, another of Julius Cæsar, another of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and a fourth of the King of Prussia. — N. B. These are not to exceed fifteen inches in height, nor ten in width.

"2 other busts of the Prince Eugene and Duke of Marlborough, somewhat smaller.

"2 *wild beasts*, not to exceed twelve inches in height nor eighteen in length.

"Sundry small ornaments for chimney-piece." — Vol. XII. p. 256.

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Attempts have been made by some British writers, to bring into question the zeal and sincerity, with which, at the outset, Washington embarked in the patriotic cause; and they have asserted, that he was brought with difficulty to take part in the measures of resistance, which were adopted by the sanguine leaders. Mr. Sparks ascribes this impression to the fact, that his name is not mentioned at the earliest period among the conspicuous actors; and it was perhaps strengthened by the purport of the spurious letters, which in the year 1776 were published in London, republished in New York, and circulated with great diligence, as far as possible, throughout the country. The author of these letters is not known. Mr. Sparks, in intimating that they may have contained parts of his genuine letters, which had been intercepted, seems to authorize the inference, that their publication was connived at and promoted by authority. Their tenor is the basest that can be imagined. They represent Washington, as expressing to the members of his family and his confidential friends, sentiments totally at variance with his conduct, and as deprecating the misguided zeal and rashness of Congress, in declaring independence, and pushing matters to extremity. At the time of their appearance, Washington disdained to notice or contradict them. Toward the end of his presidency, says Mr. Sparks, "when a new edition of these same forgeries was palmed upon the public, to gratify the spleen of a malignant party spirit, and to effect a purpose even more infamous than the one contemplated by their original author, he declared them in a letter to the Secretary of State to be spurious and false." No man in America took a more early, open, and decided part, in asserting and defending the rights of the colonies, and opposing the pretensions of the British government. In the Virginia legislature, he went heart and hand with Henry, Randolph, Lee, Wythe, and the other prominent patriots of the time. His opinions and his principles were consistent throughout. That he looked for a conciliation, till the convening of the first Congress, and perhaps till the rejection of the petition to the King, there is no doubt; so did Franklin, Jay, John Adams, Jefferson, and probably all the other master-spirits, who gave the tone to public sentiment and action.*

* We use the words of Mr. Sparks, Vol. I. p. 116, where the point is pursued, and placed beyond question.

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From the moment of entering upon the war, Washington's history is the history of the Revolution; and this history, it is not too much to say, Mr. Sparks has written anew, in his notes and annotations to the writings of Washington, and in his "Life," contained in the first volume. We do not, of course, mean, that any discoveries of great leading incidents remained to be effected; but numerous errors of detail have been corrected, particulars of interest supplied, and much original illustration of every kind furnished.

To attempt any thing like a sketch of the subsequent portion of this biography would be manifestly impossible. We can but touch on a few miscellaneous heads; observing only, by the way, that there is not a topic of importance in his career, on which Mr. Sparks has not shed new light, and in reference to which he has not probably given, whether it be satisfactory or not, nearly or quite all the information which can now he retrieved.

In the Appendix to the third volume, there is a highly interesting annotation on the subject of the original appointment of Washington, as Commander-in-chief of the American armies. There were individuals in America, such as Lee and Gates, who had seen much more service in former and European wars. Massachusetts and other New England States, who had begun the war, had their armies in the field, and their generals in commission. There were accordingly points of expediency to decide, and questions of delicacy to settle. The first suggestion of the name of Washington which Mr. Sparks cites, is from a letter of Vice-President Gerry, then a member of the provincial Congress at Watertown. It is dated on the 4th of June, 1775, and is addressed to the Massachusetts delegates in the Continental Congress. It is a formal recommendation of "the beloved Colonel Washington as generalissimo; and this is a matter," (adds Mr. Gerry,) "in which Dr. Warren agrees with me, and we had intended to write you jointly in the affair." In discussing the question respecting the disposal of the army, by which, after the 19th of April, the British troops were besieged in Boston, John Adams made a motion, that it should be adopted by the Continent; and, in enforcing this motion, he said it was his intention to propose for the office of Commander-in-chief, a gentleman from Virginia, and one of their own body. His reference to Washington was so

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direct, that the latter withdrew. It is believed, that the nomination was actually made, at a subsequent day, by Mr. Thomas Johnson, of Maryland. The choice was made by ballot, and was unanimous. It has been commonly, though erroneously stated, that the nomination was made by Mr. John Adams. No person, probably, had a greater agency in bringing it about; but it was deemed advisable, on the score of policy, that it should not proceed from a Northern delegate. The apprehension may have been of jealousies to be excited, on the part of the general officers, already commissioned by Massachusetts. Three days after the appointment of Washington, Mr. Adams thus expressed himself in a letter to Mr. Gerry;

"There is something charming to me in the conduct of Washington. A gentleman of one of the first fortunes upon the Continent, leaving his delicious retirement, his family and friends, sacrificing his ease, and hazarding all in the cause of his country! His views are noble and disinterested. He declared when he accepted the mighty trust, that he would lay before us an exact account of his expenses, and not accept a shilling for pay."* — Vol. III. p. 481.

Among the curious original materials collected by Mr. Sparks, not the least interesting are the extracts from the correspondence of General Gage and the Earl of Dartmouth, which are now for the first time given to the world. It was the opinion of General Gage, till perhaps the event of the battle of Bunker Hill, that a demonstration of ample military force, the arrest of the patriotic leaders, and a proclamation of pardon for the rest of the population, would be sufficient to crush the rebellion. On the 18th of January, 1775, he writes to the minister, that, if these measures are adopted, "Government will come off victorious, and with less opposition than was expected a few months ago." On the 15th of April a letter was written by Lord Dartmouth, approving this policy; and General Gage's famous proclamation of the 12th of June, offering a pardon to all who should immediately lay down their arms and return to their duty, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, was issued in consequence. On the 25th of June, General Gage transmitted the official ac-

* A fac-simile of this account has lately been published from the original, preserved in the Department of State.

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count of the battle of Bunker Hill. In his letter accompanying the account he thus expresses himself;

"The *success*, of which I send your Lordship an account by the present opportunity, was very necessary in our present situation, and I wish most sincerely that it had not cost us so dear. The number of killed and wounded is greater than our forces can afford to lose. The officers, who were obliged to exert themselves, have suffered very much, and we have lost some very good officers. The trials we have had show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be; and I find it owing to a military spirit, encouraged among them for a few years past, joined with an uncommon degree of zeal and enthusiasm, that they are otherwise. When they find cover they make a good stand, and the country, naturally strong, affords it to them; and they are taught to assist its natural strength by art, for they intrench and raise batteries. They have fortified all the heights and passes around this town, from Dorchester to Medford or Mystic, and it is not impossible for them to annoy the town." — Vol. III. p. 511.

The intelligence of the battle occasioned the recall of General Gage. A despatch had been made out for him just before the news reached England, but not yet forwarded, in which a sketch of future operations was given, and important questions propounded to him to be answered. As soon as the news of the battle of Bunker Hill arrived, a separate letter was written, dated August 2d, directing General Gage to hand over the despatch in question to General Howe, who would succeed him in the command, and return himself to England as soon as possible, "in order to give his Majesty exact information of every thing that it may be necessary to prepare, as early as possible, for the operations of the next year, and to suggest to his Majesty such matters in relation thereto, as your knowledge and experience of the service enable you to suggest." On the subject of the momentous events of the 19th April, Lord Dartmouth thus expresses himself in a letter of July 1st;

"I am to presume, that the measure of sending out a detachment of your troops to destroy the magazines at Concord was taken after the fullest consideration of the advantages on the one hand and the hazards on the other of such an enterprise, and all the probable consequences that were to result from it. It is impossible for me to reflect upon this transaction, and upon all its consequences, without feelings, which, although I

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do not wish to conceal them, it is not necessary for me to express." — p. 512.

On the 24th of July, General Gage writes to Lord Dartmouth from Boston,

"The rebellion being general, I know of no better plan to quell it, than that I mentioned to your Lordship in a former letter. This province began it, I might say this town; for here the arch-rebels formed their scheme long ago. This circumstance brought the troops first here, which is the most disadvantageous place for all operations, particularly when there is no diversion of the rebel forces, but all are collected into one point." — p. 513.

But it is in vain to dwell upon the curious details with which these volumes are replete. The judicious reader will find them on almost every page, and the more abundantly, the more carefully the work is studied. The accounts of the battles of the revolutionary war, are all written by Mr. Sparks, not in the way of an easy repetition of general results, stated in preceding histories, but from accurate examination of the mass of documents contained in General Washington's collections. In this way, there is perhaps no one of the battles of the Revolution, in which some facts omitted by other writers are not supplied, and some erroneous statements rectified. In the individual case, the defect supplied or the error corrected, may be of no great account; but in the aggregate of the work, the most important service is rendered to the history of the Revolution, by this conscientious and elaborate revision. Our limits permit us to quote but a single instance, which we select, not as the most striking, but as the first which presents itself; we mean the battle of Long Island. The account of this battle, drawn up at length and with much care by Chief Justice Marshall, does not probably convey a very accurate idea of the nature of the engagement, or of all the causes of the want of success on the part of the Americans. The fact, that the American works of defence had been planned by General Greene, and that in consequence of his sickness General Putnam was intrusted with the command, but four days before the battle, is placed in proper relief by Mr. Sparks. It is stated by the Chief Justice, that General Sullivan had the command of all the troops without the lines. But it does not appear that there was any general command without the lines. The greatest

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force collected was under Lord Stirling, upon the American right. General Sullivan was at the centre, with a very small force, and in a letter to the President of Congress he observes, that the duty assigned him was to command within the lines, under General Putnam. He went out with a picket of four hundred men to reconnoitre, and was surrounded by an overwhelming force of the enemy. The Chief Justice, following, we believe, the British account, states, that General Sullivan "found it difficult to keep his troops together long enough to sustain the first attack." General Sullivan himself, in the letter just cited, states, that the opposition of his small band lasted from half past nine till twelve o'clock. General Howe in his official account states, that "many of Lord Stirling's party, in attempting to effect their escape, were suffocated and drowned in the marsh." This has been repeated on his authority by the historians. Mr. Sparks makes it probable, from original documents cited by him, that but a single man was lost in this way. We would not have our readers infer, from the manner in which we have stated the foregoing facts, that Mr. Sparks has executed his work in a controversial and critical spirit, and made it a business to detect and point out the errors of his predecessors. Most of his corrections (the foregoing among the rest), and rectifications, are made, so to speak, *sub silentio*, and it is only by comparison on the part of the reader, that the difference in the result is discovered. It would have been very easy for Mr. Sparks, had he pursued a different course, to have magnified the extent and importance of his own researches at the expense of his predecessors. But his mind was too full of Washington to think of himself.

Some of the most gratifying passages of Mr. Sparks's work are those which display the relations of Washington and Lafayette. This topic has now lost the charm of novelty. It happened, that, precisely at the time when the news of the decease of Lafayette reached this country, those portions of Mr. Sparks's publication appeared, which contained the accounts of his landing in America, and of his services in our armies. Although here also the leading facts could not but be already known, yet the outline has been filled up by Mr. Sparks with more than usual richness of material. It is true, that his opportunities were on no occasion so ample. General Lafayette himself placed at his disposal his entire

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correspondence with the French government, and full commentaries on the events with which he was connected. From these sources, many facts not before known have been brought to light; and we consider the fame of Lafayette as having been essentially promoted by Mr. Sparks's inquiries. A bitterness toward his memory, not easy to be explained, pervades the works of some writers, in reference to this distinguished benefactor of America. If any reason can be assigned, we fear it must be, that he passed through a long life and a stormy career, without any stain upon his character. The last thing which some men forgive, in a person of very great eminence, is a blameless life. To possess great power without abusing it, to have the means of gratifying a thirst for gold and blood, and to abstain from both, is an unpardonable sin. Washington himself barely escapes, — if indeed he do escape, — from the hands of the same judges of greatness, who affect to put the seal of mediocrity on Lafayette. And for the same reason. Brilliant qualities, balanced by brilliant vices, form a compound, as far as mixture goes, resembling the sorry combination of mean faults and cold virtues, which belongs to the mass of those, who rail at the very name of goodness in public men. Show them talent neutralized by want of principle, and they are content. It reconciles them to themselves. But, to lead armies, to sway the people, and head revolutions, without intrigue, avarice, or thirst of power, is a folly which they will not believe, and an insult they will not endure. The friends of Lafayette, however, may console themselves for the sneers or the rebukes of a thousand vulgar judges of character, by the single testimony of Washington. No man knew him better; no man possessed a penetration into character more intuitive; and there was no subject on which Washington was necessarily more alive than the employment of foreign officers. The correspondence of Washington and Lafayette is now spread out to the world; and from the moment their acquaintance commenced to the death of Washington, in all the trying scenes of the Revolutionary war, and those, still more trying, in which Lafayette was afterwards plunged, it does not appear that the shadow of a cloud ever passed between them. As for the public services of Lafayette to America, they have never been, — not even in the fervor of his triumphant progress, — at all exaggerated. Looking back upon the history of the French alliance, under all the lights that have

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been thrown upon it, by the numerous publications of late years, we remain of the opinion, that Lafayette was greatly and personally instrumental in rendering it, what under Providence it was, the means of bringing the Revolution to a successful issue. This and every other point relating to Lafayette, as far as comported with his main design, has been placed in proper light by Mr. Sparks, and few parts of his work will be read with greater satisfaction.

The "Cabal of Conway," usually so called, is treated by Mr. Sparks * in the Life of Washington, and in the progress of the Correspondence, with equal interest and discretion. If it be probable, that there is yet a portion of undivulged secret history relative to that incident, it must be left to be brought to light after a longer lapse of time, and by the gradual appearance of the letters, still in manuscript, of the leading personages of that day. It will be no matter of regret, should time and events, instead of disclosing what is yet unknown of that transaction, bury it still deeper in oblivion. The cabal of Conway was a short-lived and feeble intrigue; short-lived, not because those employed in it wanted the disposition to work permanent mischief, and feeble, not because they were men of mean station or contemptible parts; but because the object, at which they struck, was so firmly established on the rock of principle, that the plot exploded with the first hint of its existence. Nipped in the bud, some mystery has been thought to hang over its precise objects and the motives of those concerned in it; and a general impression, of a vague and undefined character, has gone abroad, that a faction existed in Congress and the army against General Washington, of which Conway was an agent, and Gates a member. We imagine, however, that the entire comprehension of the plot is stated in a letter of Washington himself to Patrick Henry, of the 28th of March, 1778.

"I cannot precisely mark the extent of their views; but it appeared in general, that General Gates was to be exalted on the ruin of my reputation and influence." — "General Mifflin, it is commonly supposed, bore the second part in the cabal; and General Conway, I know, was an active and malignant partisan." — Vol. V. p. 515.

It is probable, that the disaffection, at its outset, had no definite views. According to Mr. Sparks, it is supposed

* Vol. I. pp. 266–275, and Vol. V. p. 483.

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that it had its origin in some disappointment experienced by Gates and Mifflin in the army at Cambridge. Gates filled the office of adjutant-general of the army, with the rank of brigadier. Mifflin was an aid-de-camp of the Commander-in-chief, by whom, under the authority of Congress, he was appointed quartermaster-general, with the rank of colonel. On the organization of the first Continental army, these officers desired commands in the line. Gates applied for a brigade, Mifflin for a regiment; both were refused. Conway was by birth an Irishman, and had served for thirty years in the French army. He was regarded as brave and skilled in war; it is against that supposition, that he was certainly vain, arrogant, boastful, intriguing, and false. After the capture of Burgoyne, he appears to have conceived the idea, that he might, out of the vanity and disaffection of Gates, the ambition of Mifflin, and the opposition which existed on the part of some members of Congress to the Commander-in-chief, construct a plot. Its immediate object was to compel Washington, by a series of official affronts, to resign his commission. Gates was to take his place at the head of the army, and Mifflin and Conway to fill the second and third places. The organization of a new board of war, of which Gates was the head, and Mifflin a member, and which adopted military plans without consulting the Commander-in-chief, was a bold and open measure of hostility.

It would almost surpass belief, were it not known from history, that a majority of Congress, who, as a body, really do not appear to have had a settled and definite distrust of the Commander-in-chief, could have been so inconsiderately and absurdly unjust, as to institute such a board. With this board for their public organ, confidential and anonymous letters to governors of States, officers of the army, and members of Congress, were relied upon to furnish private and unsuspected stimulus to discontent. Some of these were written by men, who probably lived to wish, that the right hands which penned them had forgotten their cunning. Washington was early made acquainted with the existence and progress of the intrigue. Many of those, whom it was attempted to debauch, no otherwise used the overtures made to them, than to put the beloved chief on his guard against his insidious enemies. At length information was given him from Lord Stirling, that he (the Commander-in-chief) had been spoken of in the most disrespectful manner by Conway, in

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a letter to Gates. Without a word of comment, Washington addressed a note to Conway, enclosing him a sentence of this character, purporting to have been extracted from one of his letters to Gates. Conway explained, blustered, and justified; Gates equivocated, cowered, and deprecated; and their plot exploded at a single touch of the wand of truth. The detestation, with which it is remembered, is mitigated only by compassion for the humble timidity with which it was abandoned, disclaimed, and shuffled off from shoulder to shoulder. One feels some yearnings for Gates. All the glories of Saratoga withered in an hour in the poisonous breath of this sorry contrivance. History does not record a finer instance of the supremacy of a great character over the vulgar pretensions of mere success, unfounded upon a pure moral basis, than that which is afforded in the annihilation of a cabal headed by the conqueror of Burgoyne, beneath the unaided moral weight of Washington's integrity. No pains were spared to inveigle Lafayette into this unworthy conspiracy. He was offered the command of the expedition to Canada, which was projected by their trumpery board of war. With the advice of Washington he accepted it, evidently with the purpose, if it proceeded, of conducting it under the direction of the Commander-in-chief. But that expedition, and with it all organized action of the cabal which planned it, had but a short-lived being; and, although the traces of disaffection on the part of its members, in and out of Congress, may be perceived during the war, it never dared show itself again in a tangible form. By a singular coincidence, it fell to the lot of General Mifflin, as president of Congress at the close of the war, to act as the organ of that body in receiving the resignation of Washington, and pronouncing a warm eulogium on his character and services, in reply to his valedictory address.

We attempt no abstract of the correspondence or narration of Washington's revolutionary career. We content ourselves with remarking, that, proverbial as the renown of Washington has become throughout the world, as the successful chief of the American armies, familiar as is his praise in both hemispheres, the work of Mr. Sparks will add new lustre to his fame in this, as in all other respects. It will justify the language of eulogy, which has been reiterated till some may suspect its justice, while few feel it with all the freshness of

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a recent judgment. It will present the astonishing spectacle of a person, clothed with the highest and most various civil and military trusts, during the entire continuance of a momentous revolution, engaged in the transaction of business of the most arduous, perplexing, and delicate character, and carrying on a boundless correspondence, under the pressure of military haste and urgency, and never, no never, writing a line requiring to be qualified, retracted, or explained; never borne off by passion; never lulled by the voice of adulation; never yielding to caprice or to depression; and exhibiting the same serene self-possession when he retreated with his panic-struck and dwindling army through the Jerseys, and when, at the head of the united forces of America and France, he granted terms of capitulation to Cornwallis. We have already repeated the well-known fact, that he declined, in the outset, all compensation beyond the reimbursement of his actual expenses. The sum total of these expenses, at the close of the eight years' war, (including, in the aggregate, nearly three thousand pounds lawful money, paid for secret service, reconnoitring, and travelling, which might well be considered public charges,) was less than fourteen thousand five hundred pounds of sterling money; — a trifle more than was lately paid to the governor-general of Canada, during an administration of a year or two in time of peace! Less per annum to Washington for his expenses, as Commander-in-chief of the armies of the Revolution, than is annually paid, *in time of peace*, to each of the three major-generals of the army of the United States! When we contemplate a result like this, when we consider the vital importance of an example of frugality, in the circumstances in which the country was placed in the Revolution, — nay, more, when we reflect on the abiding value, in a republican country, of the example of a decent economy in high places, — the severe punctuality of Washington, alike as debtor and creditor, rises into a virtue.

The religious character of Washington is the subject of a very interesting annotation in the twelfth volume of Mr. Sparks's work. He observes, that he engages in the inquiry, not because the subject requires an argument, but because there have been "in certain quarters, discussions tending to throw doubts over his religious belief; whether from ignorance of his character and writings, or from causes less cred-

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itable," Mr. Sparks does not decide. He states, that there is a uniform tradition in the neighbourhood where he was born and educated, that he was brought up under religious influences. His early manuscripts, still preserved, contain traces of serious religious impressions. In his first campaigns in the old war, religious service was regularly performed in the little army under his command, and profane swearing was forbidden by him under severe penalties. While he lived at Mount Vernon, in the interval between the French war and the Revolution, he was elected a vestryman in two several parishes, and took an active part in church affairs. In 1774, a fast-day was appointed by the House of Burgesses, of which he was a member, and there is an entry in his diary, that he "went to church, and fasted all day." This diary was kept for several years with great particularity, and a Sabbath day rarely occurs, on which it does not appear that he went to church. The nearest church to Mount Vernon was seven miles distant. His orderly book, throughout the Revolution, contains innumerable proofs of the importance which he attached to religious observances and influences; and there is not wanting evidence, that he was even favorable to a legal provision for the support of teachers of religion by a general tax. It was his practice to attend church in the forenoon. The afternoon of Sunday he passed alone in his room, and the evening with his family. An old and intimate friend would sometimes visit him on that evening, but general visiting and visiters were prohibited. He appears, during the Revolution, to have intermitted his participation of the sacrament; though a striking instance of his communing, while the army was encamped at Morristown, is recorded in Dr. Hosack's "Life of De Witt Clinton." Mr. Robert Lewis, of Fredericksburg, was a nephew of Washington, and his private secretary during the first part of the Revolution. He of course lived with him on terms of intimacy. He informed Mr. Sparks, in 1827, "that he had accidentally witnessed his private devotions in his library both morning and evening; that on those occasions he had seen him in a kneeling posture, with a Bible open before him, and that he believed such to have been his daily practice." Mr. Sparks sums up the point in the following manner;

"After a long and minute examination of the writings of Washington, public and private, in print and in manuscript, I

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can affirm, that I have never seen a single hint, or expression, from which it could be inferred, that he had any doubt of the Christian revelation, or that he thought with indifference or unconcern of that subject. On the contrary, whenever he approaches it, and indeed whenever he alludes in any manner to religion, it is done with seriousness and reverence.

"The foregoing observations have been made, not by way of argument, but merely as a statement of facts; for I must end, as I began, by saying, that I conceive any attempt at argument in so plain a case would be misapplied. If a man, who spoke, wrote, and acted as a Christian through a long life, who gave numerous proofs of his believing himself to be such, and who was never known to say, write, or do a thing contrary to his professions, if such a man is not to be ranked among the believers of Christianity, it would be impossible to establish the point by any train of reasoning. How far he examined the grounds of his faith is uncertain, but probably as far as the large portion of Christians, who do not make theology a special study; and we have a right to presume, that a mind like his would not receive an opinion without a satisfactory reason. He was educated in the Episcopal Church, to which he always adhered; and my conviction is, that he believed in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity as usually taught in that Church, according to his understanding of them; but without a particle of intolerance, or disrespect for the faith and modes of worship adopted by Christians of other denominations."— Vol. XII. p. 411.

No period in the life of Washington is more important than that, which elapsed from the close of the Revolution to his death. It is in this period that his connexion is unfolded with the Constitution of the United States, with the organization of the Government, with its politics in the early stages of the French Revolution, and with the rise and progress of parties in the country. Much illustrative matter on all these points is contained in Mr. Sparks's annotations, but we are compelled to draw our article toward a close. To the independence of his personal position, his superiority to intrigue and even the suspicion of a selfish motive, — to his single-hearted patriotism, — his unerring practical judgment, — and certainly, above all, to that habitual reverence for his entire character, which grew out of his revolutionary services, the United States are in no small degree indebted for their happy escape from the peculiar dangers incident to their condition, in the fifteen years that

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passed from the termination of the war. There were great and good men in every part of the country, there were elements of recovery and growth; but a most perilous state of exhaustion and a frightful spirit of discord prevailed in the first part of this quarter of a century, and, in the last, still more active principles of disorder. Throughout the whole period, Washington remained a common rallying point to parties and sections. Those who doubted, or feared, or hated all else, believed in him; — some, with a reasonable estimate of his character, others, with a perception of his influence over the general mind, and the most, with a kind of religious trust in his high vocation. To contemplate the action of such a character on the various elements of the contemporary world, is one of the noblest employments of the reflecting statesman, anxious to embalm and perpetuate an influence so salutary. In this department of American politics, the work of Mr. Sparks will remain the text-book.

The peculiar eminence of the character of Washington consists in no small degree in the want of those salient points, which identify the characters of common men, but which consist in the undue developement and over-action of a portion of the moral or intellectual system. It would not be easy to find a personage less adapted to the purposes of an historical romance, according to the laws which usually regulate that department of composition. The faults, which have sometimes been curiously pointed out in his character, are the faults, which a pupil of David would find in the pictures of Raphael, or a modern building-committee would detect in the Parthenon. The severe adjustment of all the parts of his character to each other produced a repose and harmony, which the vulgar mind interprets into an absence of decisive qualities. We think it would not be difficult, without over-refining, to show, that what have sometimes been regarded as the imperfections of Washington's character, could not without detriment have been supplied by the opposite qualities. Had he been an eloquent and fervid orator, he would necessarily have been implicated in the contentious discussions of the day. Had he been regardless of pecuniary interest and a man of less prosperous fortunes, though he might have gained credit for the amiable qualities, which find their scope in such circumstances, his unsuspected independence, and his actual capacity of public service, would have

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been greatly impaired. Foreign writers have spoken of Washington, as destitute of warmth of feeling. This, no doubt, is an entire mistake. What they have ascribed to this defect, was the unquestionable result of severe self-discipline. Naturally he is known to have been of ardent temperament;— that he was reckless of personal exposure in his youth, our preceding sketch has sufficiently shown. Had he entered the Revolution, less capable of performing the self-denying duties, which were required by the character of his materials,— armies made up of ever-shifting drafts of discontented militia, irresolute and distracted counsels in Congress, and an empty treasury,— the cause would have made shipwreck in one or two campaigns. An eminent degree of personal purity and conscious integrity is apt to be accompanied with a proportionate sensibility to reproach. There were periods in Washington's career, when he was assailed with every thing which could disaffect and discourage him; but, of all the leading men of the armies of the Revolution, he is the only one who never dropped a hint of abandoning the cause in disgust. In short, let the person, who thinks he sees a blemish in the character of Washington, select from any other character in history, the trait or quality he could wish to engraft upon it, and he will probably be able to trace, by no forced association, the pernicious consequences of the change.

But fondly as we dwell upon it, we must retire from the theme. We rejoice to learn, that the proper measures have been taken to impart to Europe the advantages of an authentic collection of the writings of Washington. Arrangements have been made for publishing the whole work in England. A selection and translation into French, of those parts of it, which are best adapted to the foreign reader, will be made by M. Guizot. The same office will be performed for the German language, by Mr. Von Raumur, with the assistance of the accomplished daughter of Professor Tieck. In such hands, these precious relics will come before the continental public, as favorably as they have done before the American. Accompanying their translations with the requisite explanations and notes, we doubt not they will bring Washington to the firesides of the hundred millions in Europe, who receive their supplies of intellectual food, through the French and German languages.

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We beg leave, if our humble page should fall beneath the eye of M. Guizot, to commend to his deliberate and candid consideration, that point on which alone in France, injustice has been done to Washington. We refer, of course, to the affair of Jumonville. The historical writers of that country, repeating each other, and adding new circumstances of exaggeration to an account originally flowing from one mistaken source, have at length associated with the memory of Washington a charge, which falls little short of cold-blooded murder. We trust to the impartiality of M. Guizot, to disabuse his countrymen; to point out the entire want of evidence to support such a charge, and its incongruity with the character of Washington, as displayed in every other act of his life. Two years before, he had refused to permit the life of a treacherous savage to be taken, who had just snapped his rifle at himself and his companion, and was then in their power. Firmly believing as we do, that Washington is innocent of this reproach, he has been himself made the victim, in France, of the most cruel species of assassination, that which strikes at character, and soils a pure fame with stains of blood. To rescue such a character from unjust odium is the noblest prerogative of impartial history.

We cannot but think, that the countrymen of Washington are under especial obligations to the British government, then administered by the Duke of Wellington, for the extraordinary liberality with which their archives were opened to Mr. Sparks. We have reason to think, that he enjoyed a freedom of access to the papers preserved in the public offices, which would not readily have been granted to a British subject, and that this liberality had its strong motive in national comity. When it is considered, that the great objects of Mr. Sparks's researches were the events of a war with Great Britain, it cannot be deemed an ordinary exercise of magnanimity. Equal liberality was displayed by the ministry in France, though of course, in that quarter, in reference to the American war, less reason existed for an opposite course. It must be satisfactory to the liberal and distinguished individuals, who extended these important acts of courtesy to Mr. Sparks, that he has furnished them no cause to regret their generosity. Not a single trait of indiscretion is disclosed in his work. Far from abusing the great power placed in his hands, by being made the depository of the

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entire correspondence of Washington, and by his unrestrained access to the archives of England and France, it would be, we are persuaded, impossible to point to a sentence in his volumes, penned for the gratification of a prejudice personal or national.

Upon the whole, we dismiss his work with unqualified satisfaction. Its extent required a patience of labor, which few men could have brought to the task. To these have been added rigid literary as well as moral integrity, and that love of his theme which engaged him in supplementary and illustrative researches in this country and Europe, of the most important and interesting character. Mr. Sparks must not look for his reward to pecuniary compensation. Notwithstanding Mr. Moore's recent complimentary remarks on the splendid dowry which literature now brings to those who espouse her, we doubt not he has been as well paid for the lightest of his own graceful effusions by the Mæcenas of Albemarle Street as Mr. Sparks will be for his ten years of unrelaxing and conscientious labor. His reward has been already in part enjoyed ; it must be found in the consciousness of laboriously and worthily performing a noble work ; — in the conviction, that he has contributed to give a wider diffusion, and a more abiding permanence to the fame of Washington ; and that, whenever the authority of the greatest and best of chieftains and patriots is appealed to in all coming time, it will be in some association with his own name and labors.

Art. III. — *Proceedings of the American Health Convention, assembled in Boston, May 30th*, 1838, *with Resolutions and Addresses.* Boston : Office of the Graham Journal. 8vo. pp. 16.

We cannot profess to have kept ourselves *au courant* of this last of the forms of agitation which signalize these stirring times. We see from the advertisements, that books upon the subject of spare diet are succeeding one another with marvellous speed ; but, as to reading any of them, we are content to do better with our time. It seems, that they have made

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disciples enough to justify the assembling of what is called, after the mode of the day, an "American Convention," and, the journal of the proceedings of that body having been sent us, we have had the curiosity to look it through.

The Convention sat in the new Marlborough Chapel, in Boston. How numerous it was does not appear, except that one of the speakers complains of its thinness, "compared with other meetings of confessedly less importance." But, if all was true that was said on the occasion, of the reducing power of the food to which the members were addicted, there would have been small reason to fear that accommodation would not be found, even had the attendance been large. The members had been preparing to make room for one another, by an expedient not absolutely unlike that described in the meeting of another society.

> "Behold a wonder! they but now who seemed
> In bigness to surpass Earth's giant sons,
> Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
> Throng numberless, like that Pygmean race
> Beyond the Indian mount."

At all events, the officers were no fewer than nine; viz. one President (not two, which we see is a new method of organization approved in some quarters, the hint being probably borrowed from the associate kings of Brentford), five Vice-Presidents, and three Secretaries. The President, on taking the chair, after the customary declarations of "great diffidence," "entire reliance on the indulgence and assistance" of the assembly, and the "very novel circumstances" under which they were met, proceeded to pump into his associates the spirit of martyrdom.

"We are not intimidated by the consciousness of our own weakness and blindness; for we know that every reform that has benefited the human race, whether in the religious, moral, social, or political world, has been commenced and carried on by the people, generally by the humblest of the people.

"We know that the reform we anticipate is one of immense magnitude, that it strikes at some of the strongest vices and worst passions of the human character, and that it must require large sacrifices of time, labor, and money. We know that those who act as pioneers in this cause must, like all other reformers, suffer ridicule, reproach, and abuse, perhaps even *peril fortune and life itself;* yet we do not, on that account,

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feel at liberty to withdraw from the great and glorious enterprise."

Could any thing be more magnanimous ? Assuredly not, if this were not well understood to be the way for people to take, to whip up themselves and others into making something out of nothing. "Report," says my Lord Bacon, "begets opinion, and opinion breeds substance." The President tells his assessors, that they are exposing themselves to grievous opposition and dislike ; here is the "report." They think it very hard that they should be so hardly dealt with ; here is the "opinion." And so they go lustily to work, with speaking, and writing, and all such sorts of vigorous demonstration ; and lo ! the "substance." The President's valor is uncalled for. His fortune is safe, except so far as he chooses to tax himself with a waste of it on Graham tracts. His life is in no other peril than the serious one to which he may doom it from insalubrious fare. If he loves bran bread, or roasted quills, or powdered charcoal, he is a free man, let him eat them to his fill, and be quiet about it. We dare say people will not trouble him, if he does not annoy them with solicitations to share his board, and scarcely if he does. But let him not go about to work upon the pride of the credulous, and set them in whirligig motion by the threat, that, if they venture to move, there is somebody standing ready to crowd upon them.

The President's enthusiasm naturally blazed up under the breath of his own panegyric, till, before he ended, he found himself fain to

"believe that the blessed cause of human improvement, the spread of the Gospel, and the universal regeneration of the world, can never be successfully carried forward without the aid of the great work which we are now assembled to advance."

This life-giving potion administered, the Resolutions came on, of which the following took precedence.

"Resolved, that to all persons in health the exclusive use of a diet consisting of farinaceous vegetables and fruits, with the addition of milk at certain ages and in certain circumstances, if entered upon properly and gradually, is not only safe, but preferable to any other ; and that to many persons afflicted with eruptive diseases, cancer, consumption, &c., it is

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indispensable, and affords the only hope of a permanent cure."

This Resolution covers a good deal of ground, and is of pretty solemn import. Whether it obtained the concurrence of the meeting, is not told. If it did, we are to presume this to have been brought about under the influence of the argument which followed. It was sustained by three speakers. Of these the first said, among other things equally cogent;

"I thought myself in the possession of perfect health, and, while I was accustomed to apply ice to my feverish head, and often subject to sick headache, *I never dreamed that this was disease.* I regarded and spoke of myself as well, while now I *believe there was a tendency of blood to the head.*"

Now we make it a rule not to scrutinize a gift horse over jealously; all volunteer advice, provided it is not too officiously volunteered, we receive with meek thankfulness. But we like to know from whom it comes, inasmuch as the wisdom of its offerer is some voucher for its worth; and, when we take counsel concerning diet, or any other subject whatever, we would rather it should be from some one, who, when "subject to sick head-ache," and applying ice to his feverish head, is led to entertain at least some vague suspicion that he is diseased. This gentleman has lost, on a vegetable diet, just thirty times the penalty of the bond which Antonio forfeited to Shylock, and declares himself to be in his own judgment the gainer to precisely that amount, having so much less weight to carry; so differently does the same thing strike different minds, and so back-handed a compliment is it henceforth to be esteemed, to be told that one gains flesh. "Before," says he, that is, before adopting the new regimen, "there was an indescribable feeling at the pit of my stomach, which made me dissatisfied with myself and my efforts." If that indescribable feeling at the pit of his stomach gave no monition during the intellectual effort he is recorded to have made on this occasion, his new fare has done him yeoman's service; and, if he ever abandons so serviceable a friend, he deserves to have his retribution in all Caliban's aches, "cramps, and side-stitches that shall sew his breath up."

Next came a physician, who, naturally being, by professional right, the Sir Oracle of the assembly,

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"spoke of the advantages the missionary in different climates might derive from a correct diet and a proper regimen. Their lives, he said, after entering upon their missionary labors, averaged only about eight years, whereas they might average twenty-four."

The average age to which missionaries have lived, within a given time and space, is no doubt a calculable thing; though the inquiry, if extended over a sufficient range to be of any value, must needs have cost some pains. But by what resource of his art did the speaker ascertain, that, with a different treatment of themselves, missionaries might hold on, on the average, just twenty-four years, and neither twenty-three nor twenty-five? It was learned, we presume, through the same channels of inquiry with plenty of other weighty matters, which in the course of this discussion were announced with the same easy confidence, and received with the same easy faith. The speaker plainly knew whom he had in hand, when he traced to the introduction of his specific the comparative mortality, in two successive years, at an Orphan Asylum in New York.

"The year previous to the change in that institution, in 1833, there was much sickness among the children, and thirty to forty deaths. The year after the change there were but three deaths, and two of those were idiot children received from the almshouse; the other also came from the almshouse much diseased, and died very soon after entering the Asylum."

When we get up a Society, which we are projecting, for the encouragement of tornadoes, (physical tornadoes we mean, — the raising of moral ones is already largely provided for,) if we can find such acquiescent listeners as were on this occasion convened, we mean to illustrate the point in hand by calling attention to the fact, that the September of 1815, that of the great gale, was extremely healthy in these parts, compared with that of 1817, when the elements were in no such commotion.

The third advocate of this resolution was an aged gentleman, of various experience. He had served his country in arms and in council.

"At length he began to preach, but it was in great weakness. * * * * * Found that something must be done. At length he resolved to abandon all drinks but water, and to live chiefly

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on gruel. He did not at this time wholly relinquish all flesh meats, but used them very sparingly. On this regimen he soon began to amend, and his constitution to recover its wonted vigor. He was finally able to perform the ordinary labors of a clergyman with great ease. From that time to the present, his health has been almost uninterruptedly excellent, and, notwithstanding his great age, he is now able to preach three times on the Sabbath, and six times during the week."

Till better informed, we scruple to congratulate this gentleman's flock on the abundance of his labors. We have awful misgivings, when we think of the nine weekly forthholdings of a preacher, in whose mind there has been established so close an association between sermons and water-gruel.

Passing over a dead mass of other twaddle, consisting partly of relations of personal experience, and partly of more metaphysical matter, we arrive at the second Resolution, which was as follows ;

"Resolved, that we view with deep regret the waste of human life from an abuse of medicine, through learned and unlearned quackery ; and that nothing will so soon arrest the progress of this alarming evil, as a correct knowledge of the science of human life."

No very perilous proposition, one would think, being plainly equivalent to another ; viz. that nothing will go so far to obstruct the consequences of bad management, as the knowledge how to manage better. Nevertheless, it was thought worthy of two speeches, one of which, says the editor of the "Proceedings," contained "interesting remarks," while the other was "in an interesting strain of remark and anecdote." He regrets, however, that he has "received no notes." We regret it too. The world is the loser. That part of the discussion must have been worth hearing, if the speakers honestly undertook to maintain the high argument, to which the Resolution bound them, though, in such a beating of the bush as must have ensued, we blame not the sharpest-scented reporters for being baffled.

A letter of encouragement from Utica having been read, Mr. Graham, the Coryphæus of the enterprise, next took the floor.

"Sir," said he, "a note has just been put into my hand, with a request that I will answer it before this Convention.

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It states, that a popular preacher of this city, on Sunday morning last, speaking of the great attention that is given to the subject of dietetics at the present day, affirmed, that those people who pay most attention to their diet, and are the most particular in their food and drink, are *always* the most unhealthy and feeble and miserable; while those who pay no attention to their diet, but *eat and drink every thing and any thing that comes before them, are always the most healthy and vigorous and happy*."

We think it likely, that the "popular preacher" did not lay down his proposition in quite all this breadth. But we have no means of knowing who he was, and possibly he may be a person bitten with a sort of antagonist madness, and himself breaking ground for an association on extreme principles of his own. However this may be, we apprehend that most sensible people will be inclined to acknowledge, that there is a basis of truth in the first part of what he is represented to have maintained. We have supposed, that few things were better understood, than that to bind one's self to a precise diet was unavoidably to doom one's self to an imperfect digestion. As a choice between evils, no doubt it is a course sometimes to be taken. A man who is in a poor way must needs avoid things which would make him worse, even though his very caution so to do should compel him to get better slowly. But the very vice of the position is, that, as soon as he begins to be curiously observant of his digestion, his digestion will begin to labor. Just as surely as there are nerves which go from the brain to the stomach, so certainly, we hold, he who, having deposited something in the latter receptacle, goes to bethinking himself about the manner of its reception there, will find that the gastric juice will poorly do its office. Some diet, no doubt, is better, and some worse; but safer, we insist, to a well man, is a hearty, old-fashioned New England breakfast, including bacon and eggs, custards, cucumbers, cheese, plumb cake, hard cider, and the rest, with no thought about the matter, than a sipping of gruel with a Grahamite's speculations and solicitudes. But to get away the soonest possible from this theory of ours, — for the very thought of a theory of diet makes us tremble for the result of our own next experiment in that way, — Mr. Graham seems to imagine, that he disposes of the argument of the erring

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preacher, by a story which he tells of a family of four brothers.

"Three possessed remarkably healthy and vigorous constitutions. They grew up to be more than ordinarily large, well-formed, and powerful men. They *undoubtedly* had constitutions, capable of sustaining life, under the most favorable circumstances, *to the age of a hundred and forty or a hundred and fifty years.* They ate and drank heartily of whatever they relished, without any regard to the effect of their dietetic habits on their health, and as a general fact *enjoyed what is commonly called good health*, most of their lives. But neither one of the three exceeded seventy-five years, and, if I remember correctly, they fell short of this considerably; so that they actually lived but about one half of the period of their constitutional capabilities."

To make a long story short, the other brother, of a more feeble constitution, by force of forswearing all but thin potations and mastications, arrived at the age of ninety-seven or ninety-eight; nor then did he come fairly by his end, but through "disease brought on by exposure." And the case of this family, says Mr. Graham, "will show what is true of the whole human race." We perceive that Mr. Graham knows one thing, whatever else he may know or ignore. It is, that, first, allow a disputant to make his premises to his liking, and, secondly, allow him to determine for you what inferences they will sustain, and you have put him in a pretty fair way to work conviction on your mind.

Three other resolutions followed. In speaking to the first, which contemplated the introduction of the study of "anatomy, physiology, and hygiene" into our colleges and schools, a venerable speaker, father of a gentleman honorably distinguished in public life, presented to the meeting the case of his son, (whose name, to avoid mistake, is given by the editor in the margin,) who "he did not doubt was a useful citizen, to some extent, even now; but he was equally confident he would have been far more useful, had the education of his physical powers been duly attended to." The second resolution, viz. "that a knowledge of the human structure shows, that there is no good reason why the vast majority of mankind should die an unnatural rather than a natural death," appears to have passed *sub silentio*. It must be owned to be another tolerably safe proposition, and, upon its terms (though of course more was meant than meets the

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ear), about as insignificant as safe; nobody ever having surmised, as far as we know, that "a vast majority of mankind," in order to die, need the appliances of the bullet or the cord.—At this crisis, the just pent-up inspiration broke forth into a world of speech. Though the discussion became widely discursive, the man of straw which the champions understood themselves to be demolishing was as follows;

"Resolved, that *the general impression, that there must be just such an amount of physical suffering in the world, be the mode of living what it may*, is the offspring of gross and culpable ignorance, and a practical denial of the established laws and goodness of the Creator."

It is related of a valetudinarian divine in the South, that after a long pulpit exercise, being inquired of by his servant how he felt, and replying that he thought he was better, the humble friend rejoined, that he had hoped it would be so, when he saw that "master was getting so much wind off his stomach." We are sure that some of the numerous participators in this portion of the debate must have experienced a similar relief. The President was long, grandiloquent, casuistical, and severe. "Twenty-five years of my life," said he, "have been spent in constant suffering and pain. * * * *During all that time*, I was the patron of physicians and druggists, *swallowed all sorts of nostrums from learned and unlearned quackery*, and, like the woman in the Scriptures, was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse." Who can wonder?—"*All disease and sickness is crime.*" "Sir, we must throw the responsibility of each person's health on himself, and make him alone feel accountable for it." Avaunt, then, ye bed-ridden reprobates, whom only sentimental fools will pity and wish to succour. A gibbet for a cancerous eruption; a dungeon and hard labor for life for a pulmonary tubercle; imprisonment in the common gaol from thirty days to six months for a rheumatic shoulder, according to the aggravation of the offence. "Parents must be made to feel, that for the sickness of their children they are themselves responsible." So make no pretence, tearful mother, of regretting what you yourself have done, nor wear out the long watches of the night over the couch of your fevered child; but away to the whipping-post, for a baggage as you are, and take the deserts of such as you.

One is tempted to be made serious by such outrageous

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extravagances, inharmonious as that mood would be with the spirit of the scene. One of the speakers who followed the President, (bearing a different testimony to the effects of the wonder-working diet from that of his coadjutor, mentioned above, who rejoiced in a narrower waistband,) reported, that he never was stronger, *heavier*, happier, or healthier in his life," than he now was by the help of his spoon victuals; while the last speaker, who possibly may have been selected for the purpose of conducting the lofty march of thought to its climax, said, "that he had repeatedly suffered [extraordinarily organized man!] from the use of water, which had been poisoned by lead, having been brought through lead pipes; and that *he was confident, entirely so*, [bold asserter!] that many of the evils of human life might be traced to our own errors."

The meeting having broken up after the reading of two letters, — one of them (*horrescimus referentes*) from the "Principal of the Teacher's Seminary" in a neighbour State, — and two or three pages of the sheet remaining unused, the editor treats us to a sketch of two speeches made by the arch-hierophant of these mysteries at another of these American meetings, that of the "American Physiological Society." Of one of these the most salient point is, the proposition, that "experience, on which we all rely with full confidence, *in almost all cases misleads and betrays;*" a proposition, which for any one, especially for the teacher of a system which professes to make experience its oracle, may pass for rather strong doctrine. In the other, we have the following delicious piece of nonsense, in support of a resolution "that a correct understanding of the laws of health and the science of physiology would effectually promote the agricultural and horticultural interests of the community."

"Geology, mineralogy, chemistry, meteorology, botany, zoölogy, physiology, and other natural sciences, are of more immediate interest to the tiller of the ground than perhaps any other man; and, when things are rightly understood and rightly ordered, such qualifications will be the ordinary attributes of our agriculturists."

"Our wheat, our rye, our corn, our potatoes, and every other vegetable substance entering into the food of man, are rendered more or less healthful according as our agricultural and horticultural operations are more or less in conformity with the physiological laws of our nature."

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"Agricultural and horticultural operations" we take to be long words, that mean ploughing, harrowing, raking, hoeing, watering, weeding, and such like. It would be worth an inquisitive man's while to visit some place where he might see these things going on "in conformity with the physiological laws of our nature." And, if at the plough-tail or on the manure-heap he should encounter a swain profound in as many sciences, as have names terminating with the Greek cadence which resounds through Mr. Graham's burdened period, our sight-seer would be all the better paid for his trouble.

The beginning and the end, the sum and substance, of all this lugubrious business, we take to be, that such substances as meal and water, or, on a larger interpretation, meal, potatoes, and apples, — for the doctors differ as to the degree of license, — make the nutriment on which physical, intellectual, and moral man is to thrive, if thrive he do at all; and that, accordingly, certain teeth, fastened in the human jaw, and marking their possessor for a carnivorous creature, if not put there by mistake, were designed but to furnish him an occasion of the more meritorious self-denial. The dish that erst "ran away with the spoon" did a good thing for itself, for henceforth it has need of that and of that only; knife and fork are obsolete abominations. The times of self-complacent Jack Horner are gone by; nobody, while he eats Christmas pye, may henceforward give himself credit for a spark of goodness. As, in our innocence, we used to read our Bibles, the thriving of the holy children when they lived on pulse, yet rivalled in vigor and comeliness the sharers of Nebuchadnezzar's own board, was altogether contrary to nature, and was simply a miraculous result. We are to be better instructed now; the elements of their rotundity and fair liking were in their generous food. Sterne thought he had added a touch to the picture of his prisoner's discomfort when he threw in the water-cruse and crust. Nothing could be more mistaken, as presently the honest citizen will show; he will take care to have such abuses righted, reclaiming those delicacies for himself, while the convict will be made to work through his time of durance on champagne and oysters, plum-pudding and roasted pig. We were brought up to pity or banter the Irish for their fare of potatoes relished

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with butter-milk. Sly rogues ! the laugh has been all along rightfully on their side. They wanted no competition, and so were too knowing to tell us how things stood ; now that we are wiser, we must count them the most enviable of nations, and grudge them all but their butter-milk, which is just so much *de trop*. But we must look higher yet. We dishonor such a great matter by regarding it with personal considerations. The interests of humanity are suspended on a pot-hook. The womb of events in the learned, the social, and the religious world, is the seething cauldron of the household hearth. The seminal principles of human progress are in the herb garden. All flesh is grass, and if man grows, it must be grass that expands him.

If we could look upon such doings as mere matter of tom-foolery, we should be quite content to pass them by. Nobody ought to find fault (though these people do) with his neighbours' eating any thing which they have found to agree with them. "In this the patient must minister to himself;" and, among reasonable people, it has long been a received truth, that "every man, at forty, is a fool or a doctor," and, in the latter case, competent to some independent judgment in the matter. Even the getting together to enjoy a mutual comparison of symptoms and nostrums, if that were all, might not be without its use. It might find innocent occupation for active spirits of that class who love to tramp and shout, till the echoes are weary, in some sphere of the bigness of a wafer-box. The head of one of our Colleges, a few years ago, being asked why he did not put down a certain mountebank association among the students, replied, that he left it for a valve for the spirit of deviltry to escape through. So this, if all could end as it began, in "large discourse, looking before and after," might serve for a conduit to convey off in safety some of the morbidly excited *impulsiveness* of the day. But it would be flattering ourselves unreasonably, to suppose that such a meeting will alone suffice for the present satisfaction of its members, and that they will go away to be quiet till the time comes for another similar season of refreshment. The most immediate and palpable ill effects of the strong stimulants with which they have been plying one another, if not the most serious that need to be apprehended, are yet by no means of trifling amount. A person whimsical about his

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diet is a standing nuisance wherever he is or goes. If an evil fate places you at his board, you find your best comfort in the thought, that henceforward you will use greater circumspection, and know beforehand whom you undertake to visit. If he becomes your guest, and can eat nothing which you set before him, compelling you to see that your hospitable intent is an ill odor in his nostrils, or if, meeting on common ground, he insists on entertaining you with his speculations on the noxiousness of what you with a good relish are devouring, and the excellent virtue of his own different fare, — all the customary subjects of friendly converse being made to give way to this high theme, — you feel that the bee in his bonnet is to you little better than a nest of hornets. All this one can perhaps manage to put up with. But a sober man's patience is more seriously tried, when he finds these schemers qualifying themselves as "reformed" persons, and accustoming their partisans to apply other terms of that language of mighty meaning, which belongs to virtue and vice, to the use or rejection of their vile cookery.

And much more is coming hereafter, if they are to have their way. The end is by no means yet, as they give us ample warning. Already they have worked themselves into a paroxysm of enterprise. "The objects of this Convention," said one speaker, "are second in importance to none of the moral and religious enterprises of the day." "Among all the variety of subjects," avers another, "that are now presented to improve the condition of the human race, there is none that deserves more attention than this." Already a brisk fire of abuse against dissentients, — that effective agent of reform, — is opened from this park of baby artillery, and the "ignorance of the multitude, the cowardice of lukewarm friends, and the avowed opposition of enemies" are in good set terms rebuked and defied. It is pity that people should be so turbulent and vituperative, especially at the beginning of their work. Courtesy is neither fish nor flesh, that they should throw it to the dogs and have none of it. "Fair words," if ancient saws say true, "butter no parsnips"; so that there was no need of eschewing such words for fear of coming too near to the pollution of animal fare. But so it is. The language of exaggeration, reproach, and menace, makes

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an important part of the machinery of success on such occasions. It nerves the timid who are already engaged, and browbeats the timid who are yet to be enlisted.

Various pregnant hints, already thrown out, show, that they who enlist in this service are enrolling themselves for a long war; and that it will not be for want of good will, on the part of the present movers, if the power of something, which is to call itself "public opinion," is not tried to the uttermost for the regulation of private habits. There can scarcely be a deep so low in these matters, that a lower cannot be found by such as are diligent in the quest. The host, which has introduced itself into the ovens and the kneading-troughs, has not yet followed up the assault of its leader upon the bedchamber; but how soon that is to come to pass, who knows? Our respected fellow-citizens, who, if the newspaper account of their festivity was correct, became so joyful upon the pure element a year or two ago, in their celebration of national independence, find themselves already left far behind in the march of improvement, if we may judge from a diatribe, which we lately fell in with, on the inexpediency of opening the lips for the reception of any fluid whatever; and, since "every thing which affects the quality of the soil and the character of its produce, has a most intimate relation not only to our health of body, but to the general well-being of man," and since of course it belongs to associations and pledges to take care for the application of this principle, we may be pardoned for seeing, in gloomy perspective, the next step taken in mutual engagements, that the contracting parties will only prepare composts for their grounds in certain proportions, or boil their greens in water filtered, or boiled, or medicated, after some prescribed fashion, and that, — so suited themselves, — they will further raise an intolerable outcry after such as like better some other way.

The truth is, the times are strangely and sadly out of joint. The dog-star rages now-a-days the whole year round. Some plague there is in the atmosphere, which the chemists had best bestir themselves to detect, if they mean to have it remain in breathing condition. First came the Cholera, and that was bad enough. Then, for a year or two, people took to drowning, hanging, and shooting themselves, far and near, for any strange reason or none. Not less rabid now, if more harmless, they are forming societies and organizing conven-

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tions without end, for all sorts of folly and mischief-making, as well as many sorts of good. Who can tell what is to come of it? Let us hope the best. Folly is a suicide, and there is a wise and kind Providence above us all.

ART. IV. — 1. *Embassy to the Eastern Courts of Cochin-China, Siam, and Muscat, in the United States Sloop of War Peacock, David Geisinger, Commander, during the Years* 1832–3–4. By EDMUND ROBERTS. New York: Harper & Brothers. 8vo. pp. 432.

2. *A Voyage round the World; including an Embassy to Muscat and Siam, in* 1835–37. By W. S. W. RUSCHENBERGER, Surgeon in the United States Navy; Author of "Three Years in the Pacific." Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 559.

3. *Outline of a Consular Establishment for the United States of America in Eastern Asia.* New York: E. French. pp. 27.

THE second work above named is a brilliant narrative of a circuit of the globe, made by the United States ships Peacock and Enterprise, in 1835–1837. The earth has, it is true, been so often circumnavigated, that the registry of such an achievement has grown somewhat a stale story; and, after Mr. Reynolds's lively narrative of the "Cruise of the Potomac," Dr. Ruschenberger, following as he did in almost the same track, must have felt an uncommon consciousness of undrained resources, to undertake the writing of another volume upon the same subject. But he has accomplished his task *à merveille*, his narrative being the most readable account of foreign travel that it has lately befallen us to peruse. And it is tropical voyaging too, amidst scenes of sunlight, picturesqueness, luxuriance, and wonder; all which we sojourners in the cold North are accustomed to include in our imaginations of fairy land; bestowing, as we are apt to do, all our fancies upon the ever-blooming forests, — the perpetual harvests, — the fruits, the very mention of which produces a

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momentary salivation, — while we entirely lose sight of the loathsomeness of the human tenants, the aspic reptiles under the flowers, and the poison of disease that lurks in the air.

The recent missions to the East, as well as the commercial treaties that have been the consequence, are mainly due to the enlightened discernment and mercantile knowledge of the late envoy, Mr. Roberts. He had been, in the earlier years of his life, extensively employed as a commercial factor, throughout the regions eastward of the Cape of Good Hope ; and, from the information and experience thus gained, he inferred, that these sections of the world offered a wide field to American enterprise and profit. He accordingly communicated these views, based upon the minute and accurate observation of years, to his particular friend, the then Secretary of the Navy. In consequence of this influence, it was determined by the government to despatch an expedition to the East, to forward and accomplish the plans proposed by means of a special embassy, having for its object to obtain all accessible information, and to negotiate treaties of amity and commerce with all the Asiatic powers, disposed to enter into such connexion with the government.

Mr. Roberts was appointed the "special agent of the government." Early in the year 1832, he departed in the United States ship Peacock, Captain Geisinger ; and, visiting Java, Manilla, Canton, Singapore, Siam, and Muscat, he returned in the year 1836, having concluded two treaties, one with the Sultan of Muscat, and the other with the King of Siam. These treaties were ratified by the President and Senate, and Mr. Roberts sailed in a new expedition, (the journal of which is so pleasantly given in the work of Dr. Ruschenberger,) in order to exchange the ratifications, and, if possible, negotiate a treaty with the Emperor of Cochin-China, the overtures of the former mission having failed, mainly through the dilatoriness of Oriental etiquette. On the voyage from Zanzibar to Muscat, the Peacock had the misfortune to strike upon a coral reef in the gulf of Mazeira, with the pleasant prospect of the ship and its gallant armament, together with the diplomatic representative of our country, becoming the prize of Bedouin Arabs. In this sad disaster, the second cutter was equipped with a crew of picked men, and despatched to Muscat to obtain relief, Mr. Roberts vol-

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unteering to accompany this perilous boat expedition; which, after having encountered many of the dangers of Captain Bligh's famed adventure on a similar bottom, arrived in safety at its place of destination. In the Chinese seas, the squadron had to suffer much from the insalubrity of the climate; and, at Macao, the commander of the enterprise and the American envoy both perished; the latter, in the language of Dr. Ruschenberger, "having negotiated and concluded the treaties above described, and having proved himself useful to his country, without reaping a full reward."

The time has been, and that not long ago, when we of the "Great West," regarded those adventurous people who sailed from our shores,

> "Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
> Mozambic,"

as richly deserving to be consigned to their self-provoked destiny. Their rashness was too great even for the bold enterprise of insurance corporations; and, accordingly, they were given over to return or perish, as Providence might best decree. The government washed its hands entirely of the matter, leaving its liege subjects to perish by *Afrit spites*; or, if they haply escaped so interesting a doom, and freighted home coffee from the Red Sea, or teas and silks from Ormus, the farthest Inde, it was "all ane to Dandie Dinmont"; the great republican administration, the creature and servant of the people, sitting complacently at home all the while, unconcerned and careless of the great India trade, so long as it could sip its tea out of Chinese cups, lolling meanwhile upon silken ottomans. But we will not do injustice to past administrations. We acquit them of a *total* indifference in this respect, particularly as to the return of the argosy, for which all the harpies of the Custom House were waiting with unbelieving hope; prepared, in due season, to wrest a golden tribute from those who had braved the stormy spirit of the Cape, though without protection or aid from a government which prides itself upon commercial patronage, and makes annual professions of its zeal for the encouragement of trade. These customs were particularly undeserved, because no government, so much as our own, is required, *ab initio*, to confer protection before it can prefer a claim to obedience.

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On the other hand, the merchant despatched his ship with exclusive reliance upon chance or individual hardihood, upon the seas and the winged winds, upon the vague probability of foreign protection, upon any thing but the natural guaranties and assurances of his own government. The merchantman was fitted with a picked crew, armed to the teeth, and made capable, by all expedients, of enduring every assault of men or the elements, precisely as if the expedition had been purposely sent forth in bravado, "to take the measure of Prester John's foot, or pluck a hair from the great Khan's beard;" and the Straits of Sunda were dreaded on shipboard and on 'Change, as Circe's promontory by the wandering Ulysses.

Now certainly no urgent reason exists, unless it should be furnished by their own barbarian caprice, for the black-toothed king of Cochin-China, his majesty of Siam, or the bandit, self-elected Pasha of Mocha, to take much pains to find out what we are doing in this far-off republic, *toto divisi orbe*, as "shark's fins, snake skins, and carcasses of tigers," are just now in no very great estimation in our prices current. But surely it is of essential importance, that our government should manifest to these great men, that we are really *hijos d'Alguno*, albeit we reside so very far from the centre of the universe, and visit them only from time to time "to get a little tea to keep us from starving."

Immediately after the peace of 1783 had settled the point, that the mother country should not supply our tea-market, two ships were despatched to Canton, which in due season returned with full cargoes of the once condemned article. This may be assumed as the commencement of the American trade with China; and it has gone on steadily increasing from year to year, until our traffic at the single port of Canton is estimated by Mr. Roberts at the enormous amount of more than eight millions annually.

That our Executive, meanwhile, has not entered into an alliance offensive and defensive with the angelic dynasty of Peking is with us no matter of complaint. If that superhuman court, in the plenitude of its august self-complacency, steadily refuses all intercourse with its nearer neighbours, it is not in reason to be expected, that it should place itself upon a footing of intimacy with us, its very antipodes. The science of protocoling is essentially Chinese; and, if France

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and Great Britain, the very hotbeds of modern diplomacy, can, after all, make no treaty with the Celestials, it is in vain for us plain, blunt, downright republicans, who presume to loll upon our chairs and masticate tobacco, even in the majestic presence of Mrs. Trollope and Lieutenant Hamilton, to attempt so much as the preliminaries of a conference, with a party so essentially inapproachable.

Nor will we complain of what thus equally baffles us and our betters. We cannot help thinking, that much lies behind that curtain of overwrought ceremony which Chinese custom has established, and jealously preserves. Beyond this ridiculous knock-head etiquette, there is something definite and substantial. It is the instinctive feeling of national weakness, the only efficient defence of the realm consisting in a triple array of imposing and exacting abstractions. There is a conviction, that the only preservative from ruin lies in guarding sedulously against the encroachment of familiar habitudes, in establishing a *chevaux-de-frise* of seclusion around the throne, to thrust off the rude eye of rebellion, astounded and awed in its advance by the more than Olympian sanctity of the celestial centre. Thus has grown up a vast and cumbrous system of form and established ceremonial, which, however ridiculous it may appear to even its own more enlightened professors, is nevertheless a true *cordon sanitaire* against a real trial of strength between a more manly energy, and the scanty resources of a worn-out, barbaric despotism. Words, mere words, pompous diction, and blustering bravado, compose the settled policy of the Chinese emperors, to preserve from rebellious encroachment the prerogatives of their power; and a cloistered seclusion from the rest of the nations, with the exception of a single corner of the land, is a chief pivot of the machinery, well constructed under the circumstances, for the preservation of the despotism of China.

And, clearly, the government can never have been otherwise. It is not, and from its structure can never have been, one of the first class of Asiatic nations. But we will not quarrel with it for this. Peaceful and industrious we grant it to be, and to these qualities alone it owes its present existence. The Chinaman is also more than a Scotchman or a Switzer, in his single-hearted attachment to his birthplace, to his native nook of earth. This *amor patriæ*, and the industry of millions, have erected, in olden time, a

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wall of stone, instead of arraying a phalanx of steel, against the invasions of the more warlike Tartars; a strong proof of the antiquity of the present imperial policy, which regards with vainglorious self-complacency the antediluvian institutions of the empire; assuming that they, being perfect in themselves, are only to be preserved from defilement and change by shutting out all intercourse with the external barbarians of the earth.

But, unfortunately for the interests of the imperial sway, these secrets of its prison-house policy are beginning to leak out. It has been long known, that the outpost champions of the empire are but a species of braggart Major-Sturgeons, who have undergone the tonsure; and philanthropic and peaceable missionary expeditions, braving the fiercest of the Celestial thunders, have already landed at points of the Eastern coast, of fearful proximity to the very capital itself.

In the year 1832, Mr. Lindsey and Mr. Gutzlaff, in the merchant ship Amherst, containing an assorted cargo of broadcloths, camlets, cotton, and calico goods, made a bold and unceremonious descent upon the eastern coast of the empire, to the astonishment of the population, and the horror and dismay of the Mandarin authority. At Amoy, in the province of Fokien, a great sensation was produced by this new phenomenon. Boarding deputations were despatched in endless succession, to inquire the objects of the expedition, and to convey reiterated commands for the immediate departure of the strange intruders. The Amherst, an unarmed trader, was surrounded with a whole fleet of war-junks, always preserving however a proper offing. Mr. Gutzlaff replied to the repeated edicts and threats of the authorities in a tone of sharp remonstrance; and they were even less horror-struck at such boldness, than with the formidable circumstance of foreigners speaking their own language, and manifesting so much knowledge of their local institutions and geography. New reinforcements of war-junks continued to arrive at the port; but, in defiance of these formidable demonstrations, a party from the Amherst determined to land, and penetrate into the town. A force of five hundred troops was found drawn up along the shore, in battle array the most imposing, and the beach, and the adjoining hills, were covered with a dense mass of population. But the invading strangers

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met with no opposition to their landing, and were even received to an audience with the authorities of the place, with no more display of hostile intent than the discourteous salutations, of "*Where do you come from?*" "*What business have you here?*" "*You must begone instantly.*"

From this time all was plain sailing with the party, and by a similar exhibition of firmness they counteracted the prohibitions of the Chinese admiral. A junk approaching too near, accidentally fell foul of the Amherst, and, in order to ward off the collision of the two ships, four English sailors jumped on board the junk to cut its cable. This peaceful boarding party cleared the decks of the Chinaman most effectually, every soul on board rushing precipitately below, or jumping overboard. When the real state of the case came to be explained, the Chinese were excessively grateful; but, after this Trafalgar occasion, no Chinese vessel anchored nearer to the Amherst than the distance of half a mile. The Chinese chronology has not reckoned its scores of millenniums altogether in vain; for it has by degrees developed a trace of sovereign intelligence in the popular ranks, manifested in their very palpable reluctance to adhere blindly to the foolish restrictive system of their rulers. They invariably yielded to the adventurers of the Amherst a much more friendly hospitality, than was accorded by the mandarins and imperial placemen.

It is impossible, but so migratory a race, as that of the Chinese traders, should in the end catch some of the prevailing spirit of the time, as impressed upon them by an observation of the modes and opinions of the world without. No country so much as China requires, for the preservation of its peculiar institutions, and we might add for the subsistence of its condensed population, an established system of colonization. But this we suppose would involve, in parliamentary language, a violation of the constitution. It would be inconsistent with the narrow, palisaded policy, that confines all of the Chinese race as serfs to the soil, as perpetual fixtures to the centre of the universe. But, in the absence of colonies, based upon a policy like that of the parent state, the redundant population of the empire will wander abroad, and thus expose themselves to the contagion of foreign ideas more enlightened than their own.

We do not say this because we think, after the fashion of the time, at least in some quarters, that Eastern as well as

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Western despotism is already undergoing a great change in its essential character, or that a millennial state of earthly government has as yet betokened its approach by any indubitable signs of its daystar in the political horizon. China has probably for cycles of ages continued in nearly the same condition as at present, and one more cycle at least must pass away, before even the commencement of a happier state of things will appear. If a nation may be born in a day, it is not thus suddenly that congenial institutions, principles, knowledge, permanence are created. Barbarism changes into civilization by the faintest and most untraceable shades; and the arbitrary domestic rule of many popular governments, as disclosed to us in history, differs but in name from the most single-handed of Eastern despotisms.

In the language of the schoolmen, China is what it is to us solely from the tea trade; and as, for this traffic, we are already placed upon the footing of the most favored nation, we suppose President Jackson was unwilling that Mr. Roberts should knock heads for the attainment of greater privileges. Hence it was not among the objects of the mission to offer negotiations at Canton or Peking. So far from this was the Chinese view of the case, that the ship containing the American envoy was summarily ordered out of the port of Canton by a Chinese "chop," purporting "that, as the Peacock was not a merchant vessel, nor a convoy, having on board an unusual number of seamen, cannon, and weapons, she should not, under any pretext, come to anchor and create disturbances." Accordingly it was decreed *that she should be driven away.**

After all, it seems our Yankee astuteness and sagacity has in general managed to gain more for our interest in China, than the more imposing, but, under the circumstances, most ill-judged policy of the English. On the expiration of the East India Company's charter, the English cabinet despatched Lord Napier to China, in 1834, to try the experiment of thrusting him upon the Celestials as an officer of diplomatic rank, and by this *coup de main* to secure commercial advan-

* An order of a similar kind was despatched to the Hong merchants, in relation to the squadron under Commodore Kennedy, as given by Dr. Rus chenberger.

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tages beyond what are possessed by other nations trading to Canton. The Chinese, meantime, look upon a foreign consul but as the mere commercial chief of his countrymen in their foreign residence ; holding no personal or official privileges or immunities, more than may be claimed by any foreigner, who does not "create disturbances." He is, notwithstanding all this, held responsible for the good behaviour of his fellow residents, as well as for all difficulties and interruptions that occur in the trade between his countrymen and the Chinese.

A small squadron accompanied Lord Napier, to enforce, if necessary, the reception of the new dignitary. But the claim preferred, of superior rank to other superintendents at Canton, was coolly disregarded by the authorities ; and not only this, but when it was pleaded, almost *in ultimâ ratione*, that the English claimant of new honors and privileges was in fact a foreign mandarin, it was replied, that when at home he could not be put down as superior to a Chinese noble of the grade in question, and that after having expatriated himself, and become a stranger and foreigner by the remove, he must content himself with the barren and somewhat equivocal honor of being styled a barbarian mandarin. To make the matter worse, a present of broadcloths, camlets, and watches had been presented as a *douceur* to the Imperial court. This was received with insulting condescension as a humble tribute from the British king, now the recognised but unrewarded dependent upon the Celestial bounty. No privileges were conceded for this humiliation, and the noble aspirant to diplomatic honors remained housed at Canton, unhonored, unfeasted, and unsung. Lord Napier began at length to grow restive, and once for all burst into a storm of indignant fury. But his Excellency, Governor Loo, took the matter very coolly, issuing an edict of expulsion to the British envoy, and cutting off the British trade with Canton by a proclamation of the following purport.

"From the period of this proclamation, mercantile people of this inner land are not permitted to buy or sell to the English nation any goods or things whatever, large or small ; and all manner of workmen, boatmen, &c., are also not allowed to receive hire or employ of the said barbarians. Should there be any clandestinely having dealings or receiving hire, let the local officers immediately examine and seize them, to be pun-

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ished, according to the law against holding clandestine intercourse with foreign nations. In this the said barbarian eye, Lord Napier, has cut himself off from the celestial empire. It is not all that we the governor and lieutenant-governor have liked to do.

"Taoukwang, 14th year, 9th moon, 29th day."

All the Chinese servants instantly departed from the British factory, the natives being forbidden, on pain of death, to sell any provisions to the offending people; and all foreigners were enjoined to the same non-intercourse under the penalty of incurring the same interdict, as that denounced against the English. Under these unpleasant circumstances, the British envoy felt himself obliged for personal protection to call up a guard of marines from the squadron. But this proved of little benefit; he was in no danger of being attacked, but what obduracy can withstand the importunities of hunger and thirst? Lord Napier soon found that fatal necessity must compel his departure, and chagrin and mortification for the humiliating circumstances of his failure soon after ended his days. Yet it is said he was a mild and amiable gentleman, and little deserved the fate thus forced upon him by the mistaken foreign policy of his government.

All this time the American consul at Canton, being unambitious of any distinction, more than that of the superintendency of his country's trade, continued to be acknowledged by the authorities, and the business of the American factory kept the noiseless tenor of its way.

The Chinese are indeed a singular race, abounding in a strange degree with the palpable obscure both of ignorance and science. They have all the self-complacent vanity of half civilization, and many very startling coincidences in their philosophy and tradition with the profound musings of Greece and Egypt. In what category to place them must much puzzle the psychologist. But there they are, with a chronology which extends so far back into the eternal past that in comparison Chaos and old Night are but events of yesterday, and yet almost destitute of the very elements and outlines of a regular history; that which they profess to rely upon being but a heterogeneous *olla podrida*, an untraceable *congeries* of incompatible things, in which *nulli sua forma manet*; with habits of industry and enterprise, which expend themselves upon objects that deteriorate and lessen, rather than

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exalt national greatness, — the pedlers and scavengers of the Eastern Sea ; with a religion which, according to Confutzee, is a pure deism, by Taou was interpreted into a sort of pantheism, and by the priest of Fo is made a mere mass of unmeaning ceremonial ; without a tangible hope, even sensual, and thus, without a soul to impart animation, making the paradise of its desire to consist in a wild metempsychosis, which terminates at last in the very desirable goal of annihilation ; and, to crown the whole, with a despotism unlimited and all-exacting, but which domineers over its subjects without a shadow of the means of power, but that of a system of absurd and exorbitant etiquette, all which a Chinese Napoleon would burst through by a single volition, and, give him but the good help of one squadron of the "old guard," annihilate for ever the degenerate dynasty of the Tartar conquerors.

For ourselves, we think it is time we should cease to denominate the Chinese the glory of the Asiatic race, merely because they boast to have produced a sort of barbarian Plato some hundreds of years before the Christian era, shave their heads to ape the baldness of wisdom, print by means of embossed blocks of wood, in no better artistical style than that of the ancient Peruvians, and have a fashion of instructing their youth in crude, unnatural monstrosities, and in poems which, to hear, would have made Hafiz and Sadi break their lyres, in a fit of epilepsy.

In the absence of all other means of power to sustain the imperial sway of the Celestial monarch, Mr. Roberts considers the Chinese code of literary instruction the very pivot upon which all the machinery of the dynasty turns for its preservation ; and this, by its constituting a sort of literary aristocracy as a safeguard to the throne.

"High rank in the state is the brightest glory to which these people aspire ; with them learning derives its chief value from the simple fact, that it brings them within the reach of that dazzling prize. Strict examinations, regulated by a fixed code of laws, have been instituted, and designed solely to elicit from the body of the community the '*true talent*' of the people, with the ulterior intention of applying it to purposes of government. At these examinations, which are open to all, except menial servants, lictors, players, and priests, it is determined who shall rise to distinction and shed glory on their ancestors, and posterity ; who shall live on in obscurity and die and be forgotten. The competitors of the Olympic games never entered the

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arena, before the assembled thousands of their countrymen, with deeper emotion, than that which agitates the bosoms of those, who contest the palm of these literary combats."

These struggles with wild beasts at Ephesus consist, according to Mr. Roberts, of successive trials of skill, by dissertations written, from subjects in the "four books" and "the five classics," on poetry, history (confined to the centre of the universe, of course), and political economy. This is all well enough; but the style of getting up of these juvenile essays must be in the highest finish of celestial calligraphy, which seems after all, according to our author, to be the principal point aimed at.

"The paper on which the themes are written is prepared with great care. It is firm and thick, and the only kind that may be used. The price of it is fixed by authority. The number of characters both in the themes and essays is limited. The lines must be straight, and all the characters full and fair. At the close of every paper containing elegant compositions, verses, or answers to questions, it must be stated by the students how many characters have been blotted out or altered; if the number exceed one hundred, the writer is 'pasted out' or rejected."

Hence it seems, after all, that a professor of penmanship would stand the highest chance of being made secretary of state. Alas! how few of our great men would stand the smallest chance of political elevation in China. We Americans have been accused of adoring the outward, though never we believe to an extent like this; but *chacun à son gout.*

To return to the embassy. Its true business commenced in the bay of Turan, in Cochin-China, a sort of Pelion or Ossa to the high Olympus of the Celestials. The objects of the embassy were proposed to the boarding officer from Vunglam, who, according to Mr. Roberts, "appeared a little only superior to the fishermen who brought him off." The proposition seems to have been to proceed forthwith to Tué, the residence of the king of that part of the peninsula of Malacca, in order to negotiate a commercial treaty with his Cochin-Chinese majesty. But, as London imports its fashions and polite usages from Paris, and our great cities from both, so it seems that Cochin-Chinese ceremonial is, in a second-hand form, the same Tartar wall to international intercourse as among the Chinese themselves. The ragged boarding officer

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forwarded a note from Mr. Roberts to whomsoever it might concern, stating the object of the embassy, the armament of the Peacock, the name of the envoy, and by whom sent. After some days, as the Cochin-Chinese never allow themselves to be unreasonably perturbed by doing business in a hurry, two mandarins arrived from the royal capital, between whom and the American envoy the preliminaries of the mission began immediately to be discussed. In the conduct and expressed opinions of these two emissaries of the minister of foreign affairs, there is a singular and even ludicrous mixture of loyal zeal, native shrewdness, and innocent, unsophisticated ignorance. They were evidently the mere tools and subaltern agents of the jealous and astonished court of Tué. They were horror-struck at the idea of the American envoy's addressing their king personally, though the proposition was perfectly natural in Mr. Roberts; for who would think of a minister of foreign affairs in Cochin-China? It was required by these mandarins, that the style of addressing this minister should be lowly and ceremonious, much beyond what the cabinet at Washington allows in its intercourse with foreign potentates; not to mention, that the military single-mindedness of Mr. Roberts's great patron, General Jackson, was to be taken into consideration.

But the verbal criticism expended upon the President's letter was such as to throw all Grub Street into the shade, and absolutely drive reviewers to despair. The proposed substitutions so perverted the original meaning, and were so humiliating in their form and expression, that we fancy to ourselves the great queller of savages starting from the perusal of Mr. Roberts's journal and calling for sword and charger.

But not the flute of Aristoxenus and the lyre of Timotheus were in better accord, than the stern national pride of the American envoy and the unbending firmness of his employer. Mr. Roberts steadily refused a single letter of abasement, a single cringe of ceremonial, even to attain the best advantages of the reciprocity system; and, in various parts of his book, he hesitates not to give utterance to the loathings of his soul at those, who

> "Crawl from the cradle to the grave,
> Slaves — nay, the bondmen of a slave."

Crawling upon all fours seems the *pas seul* in Cochin-China and Siam. Thus the premier crawls into the presence

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of his sovereign; the secretary crawls into the presence of the premier, "with his black paper slate and pencil"; the messenger crawls into the presence of the secretary, and the servant crawls into the presence of the messenger. One might imagine these distant Asiatics a species of human crab, particularly as they crawl equally well both forward and backward, always keeping "what seems the head" steadily directed towards the liege authority for the time being.

The negotiations at Vunglam terminated, as have terminated all previous embassies to these savages of the Orient, in an irreconcilable dispute about forms. But Mr. Roberts should be permitted to speak for himself.

"The deputy now urged the necessity of proper regard being paid to the elevation of the words, *Emperor*, *Cochin-China*, &c., and to the use of '*humble* and *decorous expressions*.' To this advice he endeavoured to give greater force, by saying, that, in the correspondence held by the kings of An-nam before the assumption of the present title of emperor, such humble phraseology was made use of. This argument would imply inferiority in the President to one who bears the high title of Emperor, and therefore was instantly repelled as insulting. The deputy denied its being insulting, maintained the propriety of his argument, and insisted on the use, at the commencement of the President's letters, of one or the other of the derogatory terms already mentioned, viz., that the letter was sent with '*silent awe*,' or that it was presented with '*uplifted hands*.' He was admonished not to repeat so insulting a demand, for that the President stands on a footing of perfect equality with the highest emperor, and cannot therefore use any term, that may make him appear in the light of one inferior to the king of Cochin-China."

As the American Indian, when in his native and undisturbed state, breathes only war and revenge, and the Malay founds all his social happiness upon the facilities afforded him of violating the eighth commandment, so it seems all the ambition of the Chinese races is limited to an exact adherence to formulas of prescribed etiquette. This is the genius of the people and their bane. The schoolmaster, rare penman though he be, may range abroad at will, without effecting great results among such a people. Their instinct looks back from advancement. They peer too much into the past, to ages before Inachus, for the ideal excellence of human nature.

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"Westward the course of empire takes its way,"

might well have been exclaimed by Mr. Roberts, on his arrival at Siam, where, notwithstanding much knocking of heads and prostration upon nine members, as Hadji Baba would say, — all made the theme of much indignant remark by the American envoy, — the offers of commercial reciprocity were cordially received without altercation, and the ambassador from the distant West was received with polite attentions to his comfort, to which he had been an entire stranger, while his visit was confined to the farther East.

But, however it might be the custom of our envoy to put himself upon his reserved rights, when the ceremonial required of him was of a nature to compromise the dignity of his government, he was not so much the mere fool of form and buckram as to forego the prospect of real advantages for lack of yielding a point sometimes to gain his object, particularly when it was a mere affair of putting on or taking off of shoes; and he even stooped much at times from the loftiness of his American pride, to accommodate the details of his mission to the usages of Oriental etiquette; but this underplot, though seemingly puerile in its mere enactment, was nevertheless entirely in character with the Dorian method of the main performance. When the ratifications of the treaty with Siam were to be exchanged, a procession was formed of the officers of the squadron, headed by Mr. Roberts, and preceded by the ship's band, and, in this pomp and display of the battalion, the treaty was borne in a box by two officers to the banks of the river Meinam, and here, says Dr. Ruschenberger,

"Mr. Roberts took the treaty in his hand, and, after holding it up above his head in token of respect, delivered it to a Siamese officer. He also held it above his head, and then, shaded by a royal umbrella borne by a slave, passed it into the boat, where it was received upon an ornamented stand, and, after covering it with a cone of gilt paper, it was placed beneath the canopy. At this moment our band ceased, and that of the Siamese began to play. The canoe shoved off, and we turned our steps homeward to the merry tune of Yankee Doodle." — pp. 319, 320.

This was quite a scene for the Champs Elysées, or the Castle Garden of our *fête*-loving brethren of New-York; but listen to what Dr. Ruschenberger says of the audience ceremony with the magnificent king of Siam.

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"His Majesty, a plump, fat man of about fifty, sat, like the god Boudah, cross-legged upon his throne, enveloped in a rich mantle of gold tissue, chewing betel, and squirting saliva into a golden urn. Numerous attendants prepared his betel, and with large fans circulated the air about his Majestic Obesity, as he sat in the pomp and circumstance of state. *** The floor was covered by nobles, courtiers, and magnates of the land, in silk and gold costume. There were several Arabs and Persians present, in rich Cashmere shawl turbans, contrasting their splendid statures with the squat forms of the Siamese. *** Perhaps three hundred individuals composed this goodly company, every one crouching upon his knees and elbows, and the head bent upon the ground." — p. 322.

Into this presence of the cud-chewing court of his Majesty, Mr. Roberts and the American officers walked erect, removing their hats as they advanced, and making three bows, as had been stipulated beforehand. They then sat down upon the carpet, at a distance from the king, carefully turning their feet, or rather boots, behind them. As it seems, to uncover the extreme nethermost is the reigning mode of showing respect at Siam, and as Mr. Roberts had given in his downright refusal to make his pilgrimage barefoot, it was arranged that the shoes and boots of the recipients should be industriously concealed, as much as possible, from his Majesty's observance.

"Previous to his audience with the king, in 1833," says Dr. Ruschenberger, "when negotiating the treaty which was now being concluded, Mr. Roberts positively refused to take off his shoes to enter the presence, except on the condition that he should keep on his hat. After a great deal of discussion, the condition was agreed to, and he was the first foreigner, who, with his shoes on, saw his Majesty of Siam.

"After being seated in this novel and therefore somewhat uncomfortable position, they [the American officers] made three Siamese salaams, and the whole court knocked their heads three times on the ground; and his Majesty expressed his satisfaction by squirting saliva into the golden spittoon, and renewing his quid of betel and areca nut." — p. 333.

We beg that our cousins across the water will not misunderstand this negotiation, and suppose that it is an underhand way of rooting them out of India.* They may rest assured

* We throw in the caution, because we remember, not many months ago, to have met with an account of a night's discussion in the English House

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that we have not the remotest idea of seducing the fealty of a single subject of their vast, and we hope profitable, realm beyond the Indus. A reciprocal commerce with Siam is certainly desirable, however slight may be the addition it makes to our foreign trade; though it cannot be but well known, that Siam is not Tyre, nor are its merchants the honorable of the earth. If we do not widely err in our conceptions of this traffic, the chief mercantile imports into our land, direct from Siam, have been as yet but the Siamese Twins, of whose anomalous configuration, they as well as ourselves have enjoyed the pecuniary as well as scientific benefit.

But, however meagre may be the present avails of this petty traffic upon a barbarous coast, its accidental and merely possible advantages, in times anterior to the treaty, were, according to Mr. Roberts, nearly all swallowed up by exorbitant exactions in the form of charges, both stated and discretionary, upon American vessels engaged in the trade,—charges which were not confined to the single enormities of the custom-house, but extended to extraordinary retaining fees, in order to purchase grace and favor from the king, and exemption from petty insult and vexation on the part of the royal servants. These exactions were reckoned at the enormous amount of thirty thousand dollars upon an import cargo of forty thousand dollars; by which it would seem, that his Majesty of Siam, or his placemen in the commerce department, were doing a rather thrifty business with the straggling waifs, that floated to that coast. But the king being committed, we suppose, to no preconceived system of commercial regulation, on yielding to the good diplomacy of the American envoy, consented to give up his profitable tariff of peculation, and forego all its lucrative transactions, for the single stipulation "of 1700 ticuls, a Siamese fathom, upon the

of Commons, upon the motion of a patriot, it is true, of the extreme *gauche*, to call for information as to the ambitious designs of the United States in regard to much North American territory, as well as to the intrusive and unmannerly encroachment of that power upon the rights of Great Britain, by its late treaties with Siam and Muscat! This throws light upon an account, given by Dr. Ruschenberger, of the kindly representations to the Sultan of Muscat, made by a British functionary of Bombay, as to the very inconsiderable consequences that could result to him from a treaty with so distant, and withal so powerless, a nation as the United States. The Sultan very sharply rejoined, that he saw ten American vessels in his harbours to one English vessel, and, as the Americans had twice beaten the English, he inferred they could not be so very insignificant after all.

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breadth of vessels bringing merchandise;" thus reducing all the duties to be paid, together with the port charges, to a ninth of former sums. We can do no less than exclaim with Edgar, "The prince of darkness is a gentleman."

To their accounts of the different negotiations, both our authors have subjoined some very sensible remarks upon the pressing necessity of protecting our commerce in the Eastern Seas. There has certainly been hitherto a strange remissness in this respect, on the part of the government. Furnished with such a navy as ours, and for which we, as a peaceful, neutral people, given up wholly to utilitarianism and filthy lucre, have so little employment; while our docks are crowded with "lofty ships," and our navy list is filled to overflowing with crowds of gallant and aspiring officers waiting orders, it is indeed strange, that a cruising ground is not allowed, where it is so necessary, in the longitudes of the Indian ocean, and about the maritime domain of the pirates of Malacca. That there are great American interests requiring protection in the Indian seas, is apparent enough from the bare statement of the fact, that there are ten millions of American property annually exposed upon the high seas, and in the long range of harbours, eastward of the Cape of Good Hope; that this amount is every year increasing; and that piracy upon the ocean, and upon every barbarous coast throughout all the islands, is a most characteristic feature of the native propensity. Before the affair of Quallah Battu, no report of a similar act of high-handed aggression upon our undefended commerce had resounded in tones of alarm through our commercial community. That matter was avenged by the Potomac, in strict accordance with established maxims of civilized intercourse with the Indies, by confounding together both the innocent and the guilty; though, in this instance at least, there was no other way left of making an example of punishment, if that was to be done. But who can enumerate all the acts of extortion and plunder committed upon solitary ships, to an extent insufficient to awaken the national feeling, and arouse the tardy sympathy of the government;—the risk, expense, and uncertainty of a voyage amidst such dangers, as render the escape from destruction an accident of remarkable fortune; and, more than all, the exposure of our commerce to unauthorized and official depredation, practised in the ports themselves, upon whatever is unprotected and at

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their mercy, by the marauding plunderers of the coast, and the graceless functionaries of the custom-house? We have also an annual fleet of a hundred sail of whale ships in the Pacific, the operations of which extend to the coast of Japan, rendering them liable to be wrecked upon the islands and reefs of the great Eastern Archipelago, and the crews to be murdered outright, or made slaves until a ransom is paid, which has hitherto been done by some humane merchantman or foreign ship of war. Desperate indeed would be the hope of such captives, if their deliverance depended solely upon the tardy and accidental arrival of an American ship of war, returning home from the Pacific, showing her top-sails only to the anxious and half-maddened sufferers, and then passing out of the horizon like some pleasing, hopeless phantasm of a sick man's dream. These ships, ordered home from the Pacific by way of the Cape of Good Hope, usually touch only at Manilla or Batavia for refreshments, and depart straightforward on their voyage, scarcely thinking of the commercial interests of their country, in their eagerness, after a three years' absence, to revisit the scenes of their home. This is a partial arrangement of our naval force, that should no longer be made; and we are glad to find, that neither of our authors neglects to remind the Navy Department of this imperious obligation.

The truth is, the government has hitherto conducted itself, in relation to the India trade at least, rather too strictly upon the oft-quoted maxim of letting commerce regulate itself. No encouragement has been given, no protection extended to it. Such a policy was in existence, even when, during the continental system of Napoleon, the American trade to Batavia amounted to nearly five millions annually, by a system of making purchases there of coffee, sugar, and spices, and importing them into France at a clear profit of one hundred per cent. These ships, unprotected even upon their own shores, had to run the gauntlet, this side of the Cape, of the Scilla and Charybdis of the French decrees and the British orders in Council; but, in their long voyage and hazardous operations, they had, we suppose, grown so inured to want of protection, that they repined no more at their fate when captured at either extremity of their route, than does an eel at the destiny to which in a manner he conceives himself born.

The great *entrepôts* of American commerce in the East,

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are Calcutta and Canton. But these ports, though enjoying the reputation, without the counting-house, of entirely engrossing the whole American traffic, are nevertheless well known, to those who are admitted into its secrets, to share after all but their proportionate consideration in the general estimate of Eastern trade. The extent of American traffic to the minor ports of the East is much misapprehended, particularly when it is compared with that of the greatest trafficking nations of Europe. In the years 1833 and 1834, there were more than one hundred American vessels, that entered for purposes of traffic into the single port of Batavia, constituting more than one third of the amount of tonnage entered at the custom-house, as compared with that of the Dutch, the owners of the island of Java. The same occurs to a similar extent at Zanzibar, Muscat, and the ports of the Persian Gulf, at Siam, and upon the coasts of the different islands of the Eastern sea. This way-side voyaging is made subsidiary to the furtherance of the main object of the expedition. The *expenses* of an Eastern voyage, aside from its *profits*, are often in a great measure paid by a course of smaller traffic at ports intervening between the great points of import and export. Thus a vessel from Boston to Calcutta, goes first to Rio de Janeiro with a freight partly of specie, but chiefly of naval stores and American produce; which being converted into specie or goods for the Indian market, she sails directly for Bombay or Calcutta, and makes the usual return of piece goods, silks, opium, and drugs. A vessel for Canton pursues another course. It proceeds to the coasts of the Persian gulf, to Ceylon, to the islands of the Indian Archipelago, or what is more common to Batavia, there exchanging its outward cargo for salt, camphor, tin, opium, indigo, betel-nuts, and edible birds'-nests; whence it continues its voyage to the China market, to make a profit on this new exchange, and return with a cargo chiefly of tea. We have not ascertained, whether the very profitable freights of cutlery, and of brass and silver, have yet been attempted by American ships, to exchange with the savages upon the coasts of Sumatra and Borneo, directly for their pepper and spices, or indirectly as articles of intermediate exchange, subsidiary to the main traffic with the China market. If Great Britain can make a profit upon such articles of exchange (and she has long continued to do so), there is nothing but

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the greater length of the voyage to prevent our deriving a like benefit from the commerce. The chief favor bestowed by government upon foreign trade at Canton, consists in a drawback granted to the importation of rice; though, in general, the restrictive exactions of the Chinese are scarcely more oppressive toward foreign trade, than the selfish policy of the Anglo-Indian system, or the narrow monopoly of the Dutch at Java.

But let us at length quit these far-off realms, and follow the course of the embassy to Yemen, and the "East of sun-bright Araby." Here the armament entered the Red Sea, which, by the way, Mr. Roberts says, is not red but green, to Mocha, where the provincial representative of the Turkish Sultan was found to be a bandit deserter from Egypt, rather civil in his manners, but whose history proves him to be little better than one of the wicked ones. Thence the American envoy sailed to Muscat, whose sultan seems the very Bayard of Arab chivalry. He was approached as a barbarian, and discovered, upon nearer intercourse, to be possessed of a polished civilization, such as Louis Philippe himself might well be proud of. Discriminating duties upon American vessels were only mentioned to be annulled, and listen to what follows.

"When the fifth article of the proposed treaty was read, which related to shipwrecked seamen, he at once objected to that part of it relating to a remuneration for expenses, which would be necessarily incurred in supporting and forwarding them to the United States, and said the articles he wished so altered as to make it incumbent upon him to protect, maintain, and return them to their own country free of every charge. He remarked, that to do otherwise would be contrary to the usages of the Arabs, and to the rights of hospitality which have ever been practised among them."*

And this king of men is no petty Arab scheick, or impotent Chinese emperor, with scarcely power to preserve his long

* Of a similar tone of high and noble generosity, was the Sultan's proposition to the American envoy, during the audience of ratification in October, 1835, that the treaty should take effect from the day of its ratification by the President and Senate of the United States, namely, June, 1834, more than a year past; thus subjecting himself to the repayment of some hundreds of dollars overcharged in the customs, under the continuance of the old state of things. We almost think Mr. Roberts betrayed too much of the mere merchant, in consenting to accept the bestowment of such magnanimous liberality.

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queue from the grasp of rude rebellion; but it seems he dominates over most of the poetic Land of Roses, with a population more than half civilized, and a naval armament which exceeds in respectability that possessed by any but the most maritime and commercial states of Europe. His sultanship seems the very Haroun al Raschid of the Eastern coast of Africa, and we are happy now, after the labors of Mr. Roberts, to joy in him as our commercial ally, offensive and defensive.

This treaty with Muscat is by far the most important attainment of the mission. The foreign trade to the ports of that kingdom is already much in the hands of this country, and is steadily on the increase. Our vessels, it is true, seldom visit Muscat itself; but it is because most of the foreign commerce of the country (which stretches along a vast extent of the eastern coast of Africa) is carried on through the island of Zanzibar, which may be denominated the great commercial capital of the sultan's dominions. From September, 1832, to May, 1834, there were thirty-two American ships that visited this port, while the entire navigation of Europe was confined to nine vessels during this period. The trade consists in an exchange of American cottons and specie, for gum copal, ivory, and hides. Our cottons have taken precedency in this port, and, in fact, in all places along the Persian Gulf; and are working their way into the East as they have already done into many ports of the Pacific. Aside from considerations of superior quality in the fabrics themselves, it seems our Yankees beat the old countrymen to nothing, in the knack of hawking off their wares; telling the honest Orientals, that, dependent as Europe is upon their country for the growth of the raw material, it is not to be supposed but they retain at home all the best of the cotton for their own manufacture!

We are here compelled to part company with our authors, gratefully offering them our acknowledgments for the information, they have so seasonably communicated, of the commercial coasts of the East. Mr. Roberts's book is a plain tale of the events which befell the mission; the journal of a public man, who writes, in simple, strong conciseness his impressions of events and foreign habitudes, always preserving the duties of his envoyship uppermost in his narrative; and this with much apparent knowledge of commerce, and in a

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perspicuous mode of rendering such knowledge intelligible to the public. No East India merchant or factor should rest content without a perusal, if not a study, of his work. It is eminently professional in its character, and, like all professional books, apt in many parts to be uninteresting to the mere general reader. But what it lacks by the unattractiveness of many of its subjects, and sometimes by the hardness, if not incorrectness of its style, is abundantly made up in the mass of solid and useful information it contains, nautical, mercantile, and diplomatic.

The work of Dr. Ruschenberger is of a somewhat different cast, being constructed from the materials furnished by the wide range of observation afforded in a voyage around the earth. With him, the embassy forms but an episode to the main story of his work; though he supplies a great store of information, as to the commerce and industry of the Eastern nations. His is the account of all his travel's history,

"of antres vast and deserts idle;"

of his glowing impressions of Eastern scenery; of his philosophical reflections upon Asiatic manners and policy; of the pearl fisheries of Ceylon (he puts in his negative as to the spicy breezes), and of the swampy miasms and ever-varied uncleannesses of Batavia; of the Parsees of India,* and the Dayak head-hunters of Borneo; of the half-christianized Sandwich islanders, and the degenerate progeny of Castile at California. He puts to the work a hand trained to authorship; nor does his style and thought, like that of many of the *litterateurs* of his profession, smack in any degree too much of the quarter-deck; a species of composition now much in vogue, derived in the first instance from Cooper, and sustained in credit by the popularity of Basil Hall and

* The Parsees of India are one of the finest races of men in the world, demigods and Apollos to the Mahommedan and Hindu castes around them. They are pure representatives of the people of ancient Iran,— the fire-worshipping disciples of Zoroaster. Having confined their intercourse and alliances entirely within the limits of their own tribe, they have continued for centuries to transmit the pure blood of Persia from generation to generation. Nor has the native quickness and fire of their intellect been by degrees subdued, under the ungenial influences of their foreign residence. Almost all the native merchants of Bombay, and of many other ports of British India, are Parsees; and they constitute the only commercial class of the unmixed Orientals, who can pretend to even a distant rivalry of the Christian residents in intelligence, honor, or comprehensive views of commerce. They are the antipodes of the Pariahs.

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Captain Maryatt. For ourselves, we profess never to have received so much information respecting the condition and modes of existence of the maritime Asiatics, from any other source, as from the works now before us.

The pamphlet, whose title we have placed in conjunction with these volumes, contains an enlightened view of our consular system in general, and a special plea, of much pertinence, for the particular establishment of a consular agency throughout the Eastern Seas, for the permanent protection of our commerce in that remote though interesting quarter of the globe. This is to pursue the benefits of the late embassy to good purpose. If, as was said above, our commerce needs protection while yet exposed upon the high seas of the Eastern hemisphere, much more, it may be argued, does it require the appliances of official security, through government agents, upon the coasts of those waters, which are and have been so thronged with our trade.

It were vain to enter into commercial stipulations with such despots of easy honor, unless, after the treaty is made, we keep constantly in their presence the embodied majesty of our power, in the form of its recognised representative. Such an agent, whether regarded as the head man of his nation, or the mere controller of turbulent seamen, is invested, in virtue of his office and station, with that subtile and mysterious influence, great in proportion as the true nature and authority of its powers are less understood, which overawes and controls the short-hand practices of those, whose maxims of traffic are much too often on the *sauve qui peut* principle, as applied to morals. The commercial agent of a foreign nation who is resident in Eastern Asia, whether his presence is really acceptable or not, is still regarded as a commercial chief, who has the right of claiming that justice should be rendered to his people. This demand of the foreign resident is, under the circumstances, as the mandate of a master ; and slaves obey, however they may in secret rebel against the authority which coerces them ; a consideration of much value, in adopting measures for the protection of our Eastern trade.

After the treaties negotiated with Siam and Muscat, commercial residents will of course be speedily appointed to those places. It will at least be utter folly to enter into treaty stipulations with those powers, if the mere exchange of

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ratifications is to include all that government designs to perform, in order to the permanent maintenance of the arrangement. Promises and even favors may be freely lavished by barbarians, to be rid of the unpleasant visit of a war-ship, but something more is requisite to sustain a continuance of the stipulated advantages, or the empty breath of words will but be as the furrow left by the keel.

The author we are now considering writes as one who is personally acquainted with his subject; and he has given an outline of what, in his estimation, should be the commercial policy of the United States, in relation to the country east of the Cape of Good Hope. The plan he recommends is the following, which we see no reason in the world to gainsay.

"1st. Let the countries around the Chinese sea be erected into a consulate-general, Canton being the residence of the presiding officer, who shall also be consul for China.

"2d. Let the islands subject to the Spanish crown, extending from the Bashee islands to Basilan, be made a second consulate, with residence at Manilla.

"3d. Let the insular region, lying between the Spanish claims on the north and the Dutch claims on the south, form a third consulate, with residence at the Looloo group or at Borneo city.

"4th. Let the Dutch islands be a fourth consulate, with residence at Batavia.

"5th. Let the eastern shore of Sumatra and the Malayan peninsula form a fifth consulate, with residence at Singapore or Rhio.

"6. Let Siam be the sixth consulate.

"7. Let Cochin-China be the seventh and last consulate.

"To such of these governments as are independent, the consuls should be duly accredited, and authorized to correspond directly with them, and protected by treaty stipulations. Recognition like this cannot of course be expected from colonial authorities. Let the consuls be required, in addition to their usual duties, to give minute information of their respective countries to the consul-general and the State department. Let it be the duty of the consul-general to collect and arrange this information, and to present it in a digested form, with his further views, to the department. Let him report on the working of the consular system, and thus bring about its extension and perfection. Especially let all naval movements be made only with his concurrence, and no retributive measures re-

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solved on but with his express and responsible sanction. The annual cost of this establishment, at $4000 or $5000 for the consul-general, and $3000 for the consuls, with some allowances for interpreters' services and for commercial agents, would be about $30,000. It is not much for so important a region, on which nothing is expended in diplomatic establishments."

It must, we think, be admitted, that our government has, in commercial affairs, been singularly remiss, in the proper maintenance of its official representation abroad. We speak thus in general terms, because it is not alone in Eastern Asia that the consular establishment of the United States has been heretofore much neglected; in fact, the sin of omission extends in this respect to most, if not all, the more western nations with whom we have commercial intercourse. Instead of its being the legitimate offspring of the government itself, cherished and fostered with zeal and pride, as a powerful safeguard of our prosperity in commerce, of our national honor, and of our country's civilization, it has been but the mere product of accident, left to grow up of itself, unprotected, unnoticed, and even unthought of. Our *diplomatic* service is wretchedly enough provided for; our *consular* establishment is still worse. This may be learned from a report of the Secretary of State, made to the Senate in the year 1833; by which it seems the consular representation of the United States is, so far as the government is concerned, the mere effect of an article in a treaty with France, in 1792, in which, as France has ever regarded consuls as diplomatic officers, a contingency was reserved for the mutual protection and recognised offices of those functionaries. Succeeding events annulled these particular stipulations, with the exception of that which authorizes consuls "to receive protests and declarations, to give copies of acts under the consular seal, to settle the intestate estates of American citizens, to secure property saved from wrecks, to provide for the deposite of ships' papers, and to afford relief to destitute American seamen."

This negative provision for commerce went on, without melioration or more accurate definition, until 1803, when the old enactment was renewed and others added, all studiously vague and unintelligible. It was enacted, that "the specification of certain powers and duties to be performed by consuls

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and vice-consuls, shall not be construed to the exclusion of others resulting from the nature of their appointments, or any treaty or convention under which they may act." Mr. Livingston insisted on knowing, and we think with much reason, what these "specifications of certain powers" might be understood to signify; and he urged, that, instead of the old system, so dishonorable to the country, and so particularly degrading to the functionaries in question, of making them to depend for remuneration upon petty fees extorted from the merchant, and petty profits wrung at two and a half per cent. out of the wages of a distressed seaman, the consuls of the United States should be raised to a dignity worthy of the country, by an apportionment from the treasury, sufficient to place them above the necessity of petty exactions, or being compelled to engage in any business unworthy of their rank, and derogatory to the character of the country they represent.

The actual system is certainly disgraceful to the country, and doubly humiliating to the American consul. And the burden of the evil is more immediately oppressive to the latter; for, however stoutly he may deny the fact in public, in his secret soul he is compelled to acknowledge, that he associates on unequal terms with the well-pensioned functionaries of the European powers. The consuls of other nations are raised by their respective governments far above the desire or the necessity of engaging in commerce, and have not received their appointments as a mere means of additional security to their persons and traffic among a foreign, perhaps a barbarian population; not to mention that the American consul has other and more particular additions to his self-abasement, daily arising from the ill-defined and equivocal nature of his employment and powers. The French consul is possessed, in right of his office, of diplomatic privileges and honors. The English consul, though not of ministerial rank, is yet an officer of highly respectable standing under his government, supplied with overflowing emoluments, drawn direct from the treasury of his country. The American consul, on the other hand, is a mere merchant, or mayhap a petty shopkeeper, having his official dignity engrafted upon his private and more substantial business. In these circumstances, he is either pinched in his means of support, and thus tempted to extortion in his transactions with those who require his protection; or, revelling in wealth, and wholly absorbed in the

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affairs of an immense counting-house, he looks upon the duties of his office as trifles beneath his attention, if he can, amidst a foreign insurrection, hoist his national flag over the otherwise totally useless abode of the consulate.

To return to the matters before us. We look to some salutary reform in our consular system in general, when such an establishment has been extended to the Eastern seas. It is of little use, *haud inexperti loquimur*, for the President to despatch commissions to the Indies, constituting new commercial agents in that clime, when no reasonable hope of reward is held forth, to actuate the zeal of these *employés*, or even give a dignity and substance to their office. Whatever may be said of disinterested patriotism, men act in such affairs as in the commonest occurrences of life. A Yankee, able to thrive anywhere, a cotton-planter of Carolina, or a wild-wood tenant of the West, will scarcely expatriate himself to dwell in Canton or Singapore, for the miserable pittances arising from consular and debenture certificates, and five per cent. out of the effects contained in the half-filled chest of a defunct seaman. The American already abroad may accept the appointment as subsidiary to his main employment; but he will take good care, that his time and labor are not inordinately diverted from his proper business, to be engrossed by the cares of his half-paid dignity. He toils and struggles in his foreign abode, dissatisfied, perhaps even to loathing, with the scene around him, and consoled only by the hope of one day being enabled to retire upon wealth or competency to the sojourn of his youth; and, even when perishing under the insalubrious skies of his temporary abode,

"Dulces moriens reminiscitur Argos."

He, therefore, unless better rewarded by his government, cannot be expected to devote his whole time and talents to the interests of his country, however they may, from circumstances, require his undivided attention. It is not the fault of the officer, but of the system, of which, if bound by necessity to its demands, he is rather the victim than the pensionary. We commend the sentiments of the pamphlet before us to all our readers.

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ART. V. — *The New American Orchardist; or an Account of the most Valuable Varieties of Fruit, of all Climates, adapted to Cultivation in the United States, with their History, Modes of Culture, Management, Uses, &c., and the Culture of Silk; with an Appendix on Vegetables, Ornamental Trees, Shrubs, and Flowers.* By WILLIAM KENRICK. Second Edition, Enlarged and Improved. Boston: Russell, Odiorne, & Metcalf. 1835. 12mo. pp. 418.

THAT Agriculture, in some form or other, always has been, and always must be the great source of subsistence to every community, is a truth generally admitted, though we are inclined to think not appreciated in its full extent. To develope and illustrate it, would be neither a difficult nor unpleasant task. Such, however, is not our present object. Our business is with that branch of this great art, which, from the scale on which it is carried on, is denominated Gardening. This, as a practical art, is generally supposed to be coeval with the human race, and its existence is recognised in the earliest records of man, authentic or fabulous. Passing over antediluvian history, we find the planting of the vine commemorated, as the first achievement of human industry after the deluge. But horticulture, like other branches of agriculture, had ministered for ages to the support and enjoyment of the human family, before any one had attempted to embody and promulgate any systematic rules for its practice. Few histories would be more interesting, than a connected narrative of its early progress; but the materials for constructing such an account are exceedingly scanty. We are still ignorant, for instance, as justly observed by McKnight, of the native localities of the most highly prized fruits; and we are equally at a loss respecting the origin of some of our most important and familiar operations in gardening. The origin of grafting, a practice, which, if introduced in our day, would procure for its inventor a place among the proudest names of modern science, and the still higher title of one of the chief benefactors of his species, is mere matter of conjecture; and the stories handed down to us on this subject, by Pliny and other ancient writers, have neither the merit of truth nor of ingenuity.

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In modern times as in ancient, the actual practice of horticulture has preceded, by a long interval, the scientific developement of its principles; and in every community gardens have been cultivated for centuries, previous to the publication of works on gardening of the slightest authority or value. Our own country, young as it is, forms no exception to this remark.

The general existence of fruit trees, in all the compact settlements of New England at least, dates back far beyond the memory of the oldest persons now living. The apple tree must have been cultivated on a considerable scale in the earliest periods of our colonial history; for we find from the following extract from Laws of the Plymouth Colony, passed in the year 1667, that cider was then a common beverage.

"It was enacted by the Court, that no person or persons shall sell any cyder to any Indian, under the penalty of ten shillinges, &c. And that none allow any persons to spend theire time by tippleing any cyder, liquors, &c. in theire houses; and that in case any cyder be found in the costody of any Indians, it shall be lawfull for any man to take it away from them."

A still more striking evidence of the horticultural taste of our forefathers exists in the celebrated pear tree brought over by Governor Endicott. This is still standing in the town of Danvers, and boasts a green and fruitful old age, after the lapse of more than two hundred years from its emigration.

The more delicate fruits, such as the peach and the finest varieties of French pears, were introduced at least as early as the first part of the eighteenth century. According to the tradition prevailing in this vicinity, we are indebted for these valuable productions to the Huguenots, who came over from France in large numbers about that period; and, though the positive evidence in favor of this supposition is but scanty, there seems no good reason for calling it in question. At any rate, the peach tree at least must have been well established among us previous to the year 1724. This we are authorized to infer from a passage of that date in the curious Diary of the late Reverend Thomas Smith, of Portland, in which he speaks of this tree as of a plant generally known and cultivated. We learn from the same work, as well as

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from other sources, that the plum and the cherry tree were raised to an equal extent more than eighty years since.

But while the culture of fruit trees has been extensively pursued in New England for so many generations, the few horticultural works which have been published among us are of very recent origin. Agriculture in its more restricted sense could boast, more than a hundred years ago, of the works of Jared Eliot, the father of New England husbandry; but the earliest production, partaking in any material degree of a horticultural character, was the "New England Farmer," a journal which was first published in 1825, and which still maintains its reputation as a most effective instrument in promoting that striking improvement in the cultivation both of our fields and our gardens, so manifest within a few years. Previous to this publication, we had little other written horticultural information than such as might be found scattered through the almanacs. This, as might have been expected, was of an exceedingly desultory and mixed character, consisting entirely of occasional and brief suggestions, of very different degrees of merit. While the reader was frequently edified by practical statements of important facts, he was quite as often deceived or amused, as the case might be, by the strangest stories and precepts, many of which reappear from time to time, and run the circle of the newspapers. Such, for instance, are grave suggestions, recommending the inoculating of the stocks of trees with mercurial ointment and the kindling of bonfires in gardens, in order to take off the myriads of noxious insects by poison, or to induce them to exterminate themselves in a general conflagration. To these we may add the still more extraordinary assertions, that the scion of a pear tree, when grafted on an apple stock, gradually changes its nature and at length produces apples, or that a fruitful apple tree may be procured in two or three years from a cutting which has been inserted into a potato, doctrines which have found a place in some of the most respectable journals, and apparently gained much credence among their readers; circumstances, by the way, which should induce us to speak with some lenity of Virgil's well-known fables respecting the grafting of the apple on the oak, and the procuring a new race of bees from the carcass of an ox. It is no wonder, that book-learned skill was held in little repute by practical farmers and gardeners, that an agricultural

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author was considered as another name for a visionary theorist, and that the few really valuable works, native or foreign, which we possessed on these subjects, were generally condemned unread.

Such was the state of our horticultural literature (so to speak), till within the last ten years. It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that a new era has now taken place in the cultivation of gardens as well as fields. Horticulture is now becoming a subject of deep and increasing interest, and the necessity of enlightened and regular efforts for its extension and advancement is daily more and more understood. It seems to be now conceded, that the art of cultivating the soil, like every other important art, has its science, its general principles as well as its practical details; that there must be written works, in which facts must be precisely stated, and rules systematically laid down; and that young gardeners should no longer be compelled to grope their way, one after another, in a mere course of hap-hazard experiment, with little useful light except that afforded by the result of their own errors. These convictions have not failed to produce their natural and proper results. Within the period just mentioned, we have witnessed the publication of several works relating professedly and exclusively to the cultivation of gardens, composed by experimental practical gardeners, and therefore abounding in solid information, and at the same time written with a sufficient degree of perspicuity and neatness to render them acceptable to the mere general reader. Such, for instance, are the two horticultural magazines published in Boston, and the works of Bridgeman, Green, and others.

Of these works, that now before us may be considered as one of the most valuable, and, though certainly of a very reasonable compass, one of the most voluminous. It is evidently compiled with great research, as appears by the catalogue of authors consulted, which comprises the names of nearly all the distinguished gardeners of this and other countries. The liberal manner in which the author acknowledges the assistance received from different individuals is as creditable to his candor, as the use which he has made of his abundant materials is to his skill and judgment. The greater portion of this volume consists of an extensive and well-selected list of the most valuable and beautiful trees, shrubs, and flowers, which will flourish in our climate, interspersed

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with brief, but just and sufficiently complete directions for their cultivation. The most interesting portion of the work to the public generally will probably be the Introduction. This is divided into several sections, relating to the cultivation of fruit trees in general. The first section contains some valuable remarks on the climate of the United States, and more especially of the Atlantic region. For many obvious reasons, our climate (we speak chiefly of New England) has been more frequently compared with that of Great Britain, than with that of any other portion of the European world. Few are ignorant of the fact, that there is a wide difference, and in many respects a striking contrast, between the seasons in the one country, and the other. It is generally known, that our winters are much longer and more severe, than those of much higher latitudes in the Eastern world. It is equally notorious, that our extremes of temperature are greater, and the changes from heat to cold more sudden and violent, than any which occur in the British Islands, and that the American climate was never more correctly as well as concisely described, than in the elegant remark of Washington Irving, that it is "fierce in all its extremes, but splendid in all its vicissitudes." We know not whether the origin of these peculiarities has been fully ascertained; and do not propose to discuss, or even to state, the most plausible theories which have been formed on the subject. The following remarks are as satisfactory on the whole, as any which we have seen.

"The climate of the Atlantic States has been generally characterized as variable and inconstant. These sudden changes are caused in a great measure by the conflicting winds, which blow alternately from the opposite points, — the sources of extreme heat and of excessive cold. Those especially from the southeast, and south, bring alternately clouds charged with sultry vapors, or storms of rain, or the fiery particles and intense heat which they have inhaled in the equinoctial regions. While the winds from the northwest are not only dry, but, coming over the enormous mountains covered with ice and snow, and from the immense frozen territories which stretch towards the Arctic regions, and thence westward, and from the great icy ocean towards the pole, they imbibe, at certain seasons, a degree of cold the most piercing and intense. These adverse winds bring by turns, and often by sudden changes, the heat of the tropical, or the extreme cold atmosphere of the polar regions." — pp. 15, 16.

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"It has also been observed, that within the temperate zones, the *western coasts* of continents, and large islands, are found to possess a higher mean temperature than the *eastern coasts*. Our climate, on the shores of the Atlantic, must, therefore, correspond nearly with that of the eastern coasts of China, Japan, and Chinese Tartary, and the islands on its coast. And the climate of our country which bounds on the Pacific, may correspond nearly with that of Europe on the coasts of the Atlantic, in the corresponding latitudes."—p. 17.

But, however we may speculate on the cause of the superiority in mildness of a British winter over that of any part of the New England States, this superiority is too well verified by precise facts, as well as by common report, to admit of question. The northern counties of Scotland, for instance, lie in latitude nearly sixteen degrees north of Boston, and only two degrees south of Cape Farewell in Greenland, and yet in those counties, ploughing is frequently carried on in the month of February, a season in which the ground in Massachusetts is open scarcely once in a generation. The blowing of roses in the open air at Christmas is mentioned by English writers as a familiar occurrence, while we need not say, that it is altogether unparalleled in our vicinity. Hence many plants, which endure the cold of the greater part of England, are altogether incompetent to brave the rigor of a New England winter.

Nor is it the coldness of our climate, which renders it so dangerous to tender plants, and which so greatly abridges our catalogue of hardy perennials. The great and rapid variations, which usually occur in the winter months are far more perilous to vegetable life. The fluids of plants are often set in motion by a short period of vernal warmth, and then congealed by the sudden renewal of frost. In winters of steady though severe cold, the more tender garden shrubs generally escape with little or no injury. This is more especially the case if the ground has been hidden for a long period beneath a deep bed of snow. The surface is thus covered as with a thick fleece, and completely protected from all variations of temperature. Our mildest winters, on the contrary, are often the most destructive of all; for, mild as they may be on the whole, they are rarely without occasional intervals of intense cold; and this unnatural alternation is fatal to many species of vegetable productions, which pass without

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the slightest injury through the far more equable as well as milder temperature of a British winter. But, on the other hand, of those plants which can fairly endure the winter months, the greater part ripen their products with far more certainty in the Northern States, than most parts of England. We are accustomed, it is true, to consider our spring as a most variable and uncomfortable season, and to fancy that Shakspeare must have drawn from our vernal months his beautiful picture of the disordered seasons.

> "Hoary-headed frosts
> Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose,
> And on old Hiems' chin and icy crown
> An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds
> Is as in mockery set."

Indeed, Cobbett asserts, with good-humored and not very violent exaggeration, that we have no spring at all, and divides, by a sort of Polish partition, the province usually assigned to that season between summer and winter.

But our real spring, or blooming season, call it by what name you will, is we apprehend less perilous to most productions of the garden, and especially to most fruit trees, than the corresponding period in England. The same writer subsequently remarks, that "in this country, when we see the blossom, we know that the fruit will follow; but that in England and France the trees must be often covered to protect them from the untimely frosts of April and May."

This remark, or so much of it at least as relates to this country, may be too strongly expressed, but in the main it seems to be well founded.

That our summer days are brighter and warmer than those of England is a fact which needs only to be stated, and the mildness and splendor of an American autumn are proverbial throughout Christendom. But the superiority of the American climate (even in the Middle and Northern States) *for the raising of fruits*, over that of Great Britain, is best attested by the different modes in which fruit trees are reared in the two countries. In most of those States the summers are sufficiently warm to enable the apple and pear tree, and even the plum and the peach, to ripen their fruits perfectly well as natural standards; and, with the exception of a few curious gardeners, no one deems it necessary to resort to any artificial mode of training either of these plants. In England, the peach is almost universally a wall fruit, and

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the pear and plum tree are very generally dwarfed and trained against walls or espaliers.

Even those more delicate species of apples, usually cultivated on a small scale in gardens, are generally raised in the same artificial mode. Yet, with all these appliances, we are inclined to think, that the fruits of England are on the whole greatly inferior in flavor to those of this country. Mr. Kenrick informs us, that some of the finest kinds of American peaches prove utterly worthless when grown in England, and that the whole tribe of clingstones especially are given up by the gardeners of that country, as a fruit altogether unfitted to the climate. He adds, that many of the best apples share the like disastrous fate.

The comparison between English and American fruits, in point of flavor, does not admit perhaps of being brought to an issue of the most decisive kind. To do this they must be tasted at the same moment; and, with the exception of the apple, none of the best garden fruits can be transported in good condition from the one country to the other.

So far as relates to this fruit, we believe, there is no question. There are indeed a few kinds of English apples highly celebrated in the horticultural works of that country for their rich flavor; but we believe their superiority over Pippins, Baldwins, and other American apples of the first class, has never been established by any satisfactory evidence. But, if we compare together such apples as are exposed for sale in the great markets of the one country and the other, (and we know not why this is not a fair mode of comparison) we believe that no candid Englishman would hesitate to admit that the result would be greatly in our favor.

Indeed, the cloudy and moist climate of Great Britain would seem to be one of the last, to ripen to perfection the more delicate fruits of the temperate zone. These, it will be recollected, originated for the most part under the bright and scorching suns of southern Asia, and, at the present day, are generally better in Italy and the south of France, than in any more northern region of Europe. The truth is, that all the fine fruit in Great Britain is dearly earned; wrung, as it were, from a frowning climate, by a combination of profound skill and patient effort; a striking proof, far more of human intelligence and industry, than of any fitness in the soil and sky of that island for horticultural purposes.

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What advancement might not be made in our horticulture, were one tenth part of the science, capital, and labor, devoted to its improvement, which are expended on the same object by English gardeners.

Some further light may be thrown on this interesting subject, by a few remarks on the principal fruits usually cultivated in the open air, in Massachusetts and the adjoining States.

Of these, the first in importance is the Apple. This is the only fruit generally raised in New England in orchards, and its cultivation may therefore be considered as standing on the dividing line between Horticulture and Agriculture. We have already adverted to the early period at which this description of tree was introduced. How well it thrives in our climate, has been shown by the experience of more than two centuries. We believe there is scarcely a corner of New England, except perhaps the disputed territory, in which it fails to produce fruit, in great abundance and of good quality; and we have been informed, that many of the most delicious varieties of apple are raised in the State of Maine, where they were introduced by the lamented Benjamin Vaughan. It is well known, that there is one species of this fruit (*malus coronaria*) which is indigenous to the United States. This is rarely seen in the Eastern States, but in the State of Illinois grows in such abundance, as to form natural groves of miles in extent. We are not aware, that this species has long been raised on account of its fruit, which is very small, of a green color, and sharp acid taste, and barely eatable; but its blossom is uncommonly fragrant, and this circumstance has given it a place in many gardens as a flowering shrub. Its very existence is probably unknown to New England farmers generally. The fruit raised in the Northern States is, for the most part, the product of native seedlings, derived by a longer or shorter chain of descents from English ancestors.

The practice of procuring fine apples by grafting is, we believe, of modern introduction in this country, and, half a century since, was practised by none but a few curious cultivators. The course generally adopted by New England farmers from the beginning, for the supply of their orchards, has been, to sow the *pomace*, or crushed pulp of the apple, which is taken from the cider-mill after the juice is expressed, and

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which, of course, abounds in seeds. Hence, the many kinds of apple which may be found in every orchard of natural, or, in other words, ungrafted trees. The selection of seeds for the purpose of procuring valuable new varieties, has seldom, if ever, been adopted; and thus our finest specimens of this fruit are mere chance productions. This is known to be the case with the beautiful Baldwin apple, of which the parent tree was in existence till within a few years. There can be no doubt, that such varieties could be greatly and rapidly multiplied by a recourse to the more systematic and scientific modes of propagation pursued by Knight, Van Mons, and other distinguished European botanists. It is often said, that the apples of New England are inferior in quality to those of the Middle States; and it has been consequently inferred, that the climate of that region is better adapted to this fruit. We think the assertion, as well as the inference, quite too hasty. Both are probably founded on the acknowledged superiority of one of the apples of the Middle States, the far-famed Newton Pippin. This rich fruit, has, it is true, no rival in New England, nor, as far as we know, in any other country. It seems equally certain, that the tree rarely flourishes in the climate of Massachusetts, and, though it grows well, proves a very shy bearer. But, if we except this unrivalled variety, we know of no apple which throws into the shade the different, but striking merits, of the Baldwin and the Russet.

We deem it unnecessary to speak at great length of the various uses of the apple in the domestic economy of New England. Every one knows, that, for several generations, this fruit furnished not only much of the food of our predecessors, but their chief beverage, and that cider held the same place for more than a century in the northern states, which has been occupied by light wines in France, or malt liquors in Great Britain. From this position it has recently been driven, at least in large towns. In these it has been exposed to a double competition, from the French and German wines on the one hand, and the pure element on the other, and seems to be falling rapidly out of favor. Should its use, however, be from any cause wholly abandoned, we have the consolation of knowing that our orchards will lose little or nothing of their value. Various and important as have been the purposes to which the apple has

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been applied in former times, the list of its acknowledged merits has been greatly increased within a very few years. It is now known to form not only an agreeable, but a most nourishing article of diet, both to men, and to domestic animals, and is especially in high credit, among the most intelligent farmers, for its utility in fattening swine, a race not apt to relish or to thrive upon unsubstantial fare.

As a matter of profit there are few objects to which the capital and labor of a skilful farmer can be better devoted than to the rearing of good apple trees. Few plants require a more moderate degree of care, or reward that care more bountifully. Seven or eight barrels of apples form by no means an unusually large product for a thrifty tree, and we have seen well-authenticated accounts of some, which have borne no less than four times that quantity.

It has been stated by one of the ablest and most exact writers on agriculture, that, a few years since, one hundred and sixty barrels of apples were gathered from an orchard in the town of Dorchester, of less than two acres, (exclusive of a large quantity of windfalls,) and that the whole product of the orchard amounted to not less in value than three hundred dollars. The size to which this tree attains in New England, and the healthiness of its condition, form, in addition to its productiveness, a striking proof of its adaptation to our climate. We have heard of trees of twelve feet in circumference in the smallest part of the trunks, and have seen several of nine. When the tree reaches a mature age, it bids defiance to our coldest winters and most uncertain springs; and, if guarded from the assaults of insects, seems invulnerable to all injuries from natural causes, except those inflicted by the universal and resistless power of old age. At what period it is subjected to these, is a point which is not yet fully ascertained, but which has been investigated with much care by the writer to whom we have just referred. From the best information which he could collect on the subject, he has been led to conclude, that an apple tree generally requires a growth of thirty years to bring it into its most fruitful condition, and that its term of vigor and decay occupies about the same period; in other words, that the average life of the tree may be estimated at about sixty years. It appears, however, that, in some few instances, this tree like most others, is indulged with a term of existence far beyond the

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limits assigned to its species generally. Thus we are told by the same writer, of an apple tree in Hartford, said to have been imported before the middle of the seventeenth century. Although this statement is not very precise, yet from many other circumstances there seems to be no doubt that the tree has outlasted at least two generations of its fellows. It has certainly outlived its usefulness, for we learn that it produces only a few dozen of apples from some scattered branches near the top, and that it exhibits many marks of extreme decay. Similar instances of extraordinary longevity may be found in many other classes of vegetable productions, and must be considered merely as rare phenomena, analogous to those formed by the lives of Thomas Parr and Henry Jenkins, in the history of our own species.

The general proposition laid down by the above writer is, we believe, substantially correct; and, if it be, the average life of apple trees varies little from that of our own species. Consequently the orchards from whence we derive our present supplies are almost entirely of a growth subsequent to the Revolution. Hence also, if the modern doctrine respecting the decay of all varieties of cultivated fruit be true, a point on which we shall presently say more, few if any of our present favorite apples are the same with those which regaled the palates of our grandfathers.

Next to the apple, the fruit tree most generally cultivated in New England is the Pear. This has sometimes been reared in orchards for the manufacture of perry, but is for the most part confined to gardens. To a common observer this tree bears a strong resemblance to the apple tree; but the researches of botanists, as well as the experience of gardeners, have shown, that the affinity is merely superficial. The wood of the pear is much harder than that of the apple, and, probably for this reason, it is exempt from the destructive attacks of the borer. Its leaves also escape, from some unknown cause, those two formidable and wide-wasting enemies of our apple orchards, the cankerworm and the caterpillar. On the other hand, it is exposed to the ravages of insects which have never been detected on any other fruit tree. But the most striking proof of dissimilarity in the internal structure of the pear and apple is found in the fact, that the one can rarely be grafted on the other with eventual suc-

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cess, and that, though the scions do not absolutely refuse to *take*, they scarcely ever flourish, and generally soon perish.

The pear tree also differs essentially from the apple in its superior longevity. This has been stated by Mr. Knight at no less than three centuries. We cannot but deem this assertion founded in error, or at least that it is a hasty general inference, drawn from the protracted existence of a few individuals in uncommonly favorable situations. But there is abundant evidence, that the pear on an average outlasts the apple by more than half a century. We have already noticed the tree planted by Governor Endicott, which probably stands, in point of seniority, at the head of the cultivated plants of the country. There is a tree still in bearing near New York, which was planted by Governor Stuyvesant, and is designated by his name, which boasts of an age inferior only by thirty years to that of the Endicott tree.

For the finest ancient varieties of this tree we are unquestionably indebted to France, a fact attested not only by their names, but by the uniform evidence of tradition, to which we have already referred. The unfortunate and striking circumstance, that many of the choicest of these varieties are rapidly verging to extinction, both here and in Europe, and that this melancholy process has commenced within the last half century, is one which could not fail to arrest the attention of scientific gardeners. The fact was long disputed, and, when it had forced itself into credit and notoriety, many flattered themselves with the belief, that it was owing to a temporary cause. It was accordingly ascribed to some change in climate, or some mysterious disease, and it was hoped, that after a cycle of years, more or less extended, these trees would resume their former vigor and fruitfulness. The contrary doctrine was first broached, or at least first earnestly maintained by Mr. Knight of England; and to him, if to any one, we must award the credit of promulgating the theory of the limited existence of cultivated varieties of fruit, which now seems generally admitted. He found, by repeated experiments for many years, that the scions of many of the finest and most celebrated varieties of apple and pear could no longer be successfully inserted on younger stocks, and that the parent trees themselves gradually became less productive, and, except in sheltered situations, ceased to live. He thence drew the general conclusion, that all buds or scions

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which are taken from any seedling fruit tree, as well as all branches which spring from them to an indefinite extent, are in a certain sense mere extensions or portions of the original parent; in other words they partake of its constitution and cannot outlast it (unless it be prematurely cut off), for any long period. When the term of their existence expires, the variety of fruit which they bear is irrecoverably lost, because, as its existence cannot be protracted, so neither can it be renewed by planting the seed. For every gardener knows, that the seeds of most, if not all our cultivated fruits, *sport* to a greater or less degree, and that the trees, which spring from them, almost universally yield, not the same fruit, but one of a different, and in many instances of inferior flavor.

The degree to which this sporting extends varies materially in different fruits. The stone of a fine peach may be sown with a reasonable prospect of procuring a fruit of similar qualities. On the other hand, the same experiment may be tried with hundreds of pear seeds, without succeeding in more than two or three instances; and with respect to the cherry the variation seems to be still greater. Thus we perceive, that every variety of cultivated fruit springs from one parent tree; and when this tree has finished its course, the variety itself, as we have already observed, must soon follow.

Such is a brief and imperfect statement of the celebrated doctrine respecting the decline of ancient varieties of cultivated fruits. This doctrine was certainly an unwelcome one. Few lovers of good fruit were willing to admit, that the decline of the choicest trees in health and fertility, was owing to a permanent and irresistible law of nature, and could neither be prevented nor delayed by any human effort. The theory was accordingly attacked by many zealous and ingenious writers, with very different degrees of fairness and ability; and though, as we have observed, it seems now to be a prevalent, is far from being an undisputed one.

As year after year, however, affords additional evidence in its favor, or, at any rate, as the fact of the decline of some of the best fruits, more especially of the pear kind, is becoming more and more incontestable and manifest, the replacing of these, by new and fresh varieties of equal value from the seed, is now an object of the most earnest and unremitted efforts of the leading horticulturists of Europe.

No one pursued this great object with more science, per-

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severance, and success than Mr. Knight himself; and no one is more entitled to the gratitude of lovers of horticulture, for the constant liberality, which he displayed in diffusing the beneficial results of his labors. The services, rendered by him in this respect to our own country, are we trust too well known to render any further statement of them necessary.

Those, who wish for a detailed description of the different modes adopted both in England and Belgium for the production of new fruits, are referred to the Introduction of Mr. Kenrick, and to our horticultural magazines. This country is not altogether without its examples of striking success in this interesting branch of gardening. It could hardly have been expected, that these examples should be very numerous. To procure a new variety of fruit from the seed requires, in most cases, a period of at least five years, a delay which, in our stirring and impatient community, is regarded much in the same light in which a Dutch, or even an English gardener, would look forward to the term of a generation. But, omitting all mention of original fruits which have been produced in other States, several delicious varieties of pears have been raised in Boston and its neighbourhood, which may compete with the choicest productions of the gardens of Knight or Van Mons. Those who complain of the attention and patience which nature exacts, as the price of her most delicious products, would do well to take a lesson from the perseverance and equanimity displayed by the latter of these distinguished cultivators, under repeated discouragements of a different and far more distressing character.*

The Peach, as we have already stated, has been raised in the larger towns of New England for more than a century. We know not, however, whether this delicious fruit can be fairly claimed as a New England production. It has been little cultivated in the interior of the most northern States, and in Massachusetts is almost confined to the maritime districts. Even here, it must be admitted that the climate is too rigid to raise it in its highest degree of perfection, or in constant abundance. The tree seldom passes through a severe winter without the loss of some of its smaller branches, as well as material injury to its trunk and larger limbs. It has been supposed by many persons, that our seasons have be-

* The whole story may be found in Fessenden's *Magazine*, for 1830, pp. 228 to 230.

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come less favorable to its growth than in former times; but this we are inclined to think a mistaken impression, founded on early recollections of no very precise character. The truth is, this plant should be regarded, in New England, less as a tree than a short-lived shrub. With a few exceptions, its life in this vicinity cannot be estimated at more than fifteen or twenty years, and this term is often shortened by its tendency to grow, and in favorable seasons to bear, to excess. It is also subject to the attacks of insects of different species, some of whom prey upon the leaves, and others mine into the trunk. The cultivation of this tree seems as yet to be very imperfectly understood in the Eastern States. It well repays all the protection which it can derive from a sheltered and sunny exposure, and grows best in a light and warm soil. But how far it should be pruned, and in what way, are points on which the best authorities are greatly at variance. Little useful information can be derived on the subject from English works, as in Great Britain the tree is almost universally trained against walls, and as it grows under our fierce summer suns with a luxuriance, to which no parallel can be found under the temperate skies of the northern portions of Europe.* But probably no system of management could ensure to it either long life or regular fruitfulness, in any part of New England; and the only mode of securing a constant supply of the fruit seems to be the continual rearing of new trees.

The peach seems to be placed, by general consent, at the head of all the fruits of the temperate zone, and is considered by most inhabitants of that region as without a rival in any part of the globe, except perhaps the far-famed mangostan of the tropics. It has derived its Latin name from Persia, a country to which all authors assign the honor of its birth, though the evidence on this point is quite too scanty to enable us to decide either way with great assurance. We are told, that the tree was brought to Rome in the reign of Claudius, about the year 40 of the Christian era. From one or two epigrams of Martial, the fruit appears to have been raised in forcing-houses, or pits, under glass. Sir Joseph Banks even supposes, that these houses were heated with flues; but

* This remark perhaps admits a more general extension. Chancellor Livingston estimated the growth of trees in a summer of the Middle States, compared with their growth in the same period in France or Great Britain, as five to two.

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this conclusion seems to be unsustained by any sufficient evidence. We are told, that the first peaches raised at Rome were poisonous; and this assertion is deemed by many a proof, that the peaches then known were of very inferior quality. The idea, however, may have been a mere prejudice, like that often prevailing in most communities against newly-discovered agricultural productions. Every one knows the difficulties which the potato has encountered, both in our own and other countries, in making its way into general favor; and we believe that the peach itself was, forty years since, esteemed an unwholesome fruit by many in this vicinity. There is every reason to suppose, indeed, that the peaches of the ancient Romans differed materially in their flavor from any kind now known; as the existence of any given variety of this, or indeed any other kind of fruit, for two thousand years, is a bold, and if there be any truth in the doctrine above referred to, an absolutely incredible supposition.

We have already alluded to the high antiquity from which the culture of the Grape may be dated; and we may add, that it has always been carried on to a greater extent than that of any other fruit. It is well known, that the product of the vine constitutes one of the great staples of all the countries of southern Europe. As it needs, and indeed prefers a light soil, it enables those nations who enjoy a climate favorable to its growth, to turn to the best account many rocky hills, which, in northern regions, would produce nothing better than a scanty pasturage.

Various attempts have been made to form vineyards in different portions of our own country, with very unsatisfactory results. The vines of Europe seem ill fitted to sustain the winters of the Northern States, and, even in the more southern regions of the Union, are said to suffer materially from violent changes of weather. Indeed, the raising of foreign grapes in the open air, in the Eastern and Middle States at least, seems to be nearly relinquished; and hence the formation of vineyards of this description in those States, may be considered as out of the question. To insure the ripening of the best table grapes of France in the vicinity of Boston, certainly requires the protection of glass, and we believe the aid of fire also. Happily these expedients can be employed without the slightest disadvantage, as no fruit

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seems to preserve its natural fresh and rich flavor, under artificial culture, more effectually than the grape.

The vines of this country, though resembling those of Europe in their form and mode of growth, bear a fruit so widely different, that perhaps it should be rather termed a berry than a grape. The most common, and in the opinion of many botanists the only species of American grape, *vitis Labrusca* or fox grape, is indulged with a much wider range of climate than any of its European kindred, since it endures alike the cold of the most northern States, and the tropical heat of the Island of Cuba. Several varieties of this plant exist in every part of the Union; but, though differing from each other in color, shape, and flavor, most if not all of them agree in a few prominent characteristics. The leaf is of a larger size, much thicker and less delicate than that of foreign vines, and the fruit is distinguished by a thick, opaque skin, a tough pulp, and an acid drop in the centre, qualities forming a disadvantageous contrast with those of the transparent and luscious products of European vineyards. Still, as this vine has the high recommendation of hardiness, and as it produces a wholesome, and to many a palatable fruit, it has certainly been treated with undeserved neglect.

The raising of new kinds from the seed has been attempted with much success by a few of our best gardeners, and is well deserving of more general attention. There is little doubt that we might thus acquire, in a few years, many descriptions of this plant, possessing the vigor and hardiness of their progenitors, and yet producing fruit which might rival in delicacy several of the grapes of Europe.

The sixth section of our author's Introduction, contains some brief directions on the important subject of Transplanting. Most of these, we believe, may be advantageously followed. We doubt, however, the expediency of treading down the earth forcibly, and pouring on large quantities of water immediately after setting the tree in the ground. Both these practices are pointedly condemned by some of the most experienced writers on horticulture, and the last, more particularly, seems to be a most unnatural and injurious expedient. We doubt not that many trees have been destroyed, or permanently injured, by a mode of treatment, adapted only to purely aquatic plants. If the ground be moist, and the tree transplanted at the proper season,

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which is admitted to be either the spring or autumn, little else is requisite, than to allow sufficient room for the roots, and to spread them carefully. Even these moderate precautions are often neglected. "Many people," says Marshall, "seem to think that they transplant a tree properly, when they merely hide it in the ground." To ensure success in any mode of transplanting, it is of course a prerequisite that the tree *be properly taken up;* and this process is frequently performed with such haste and violence, that all subsequent care must be vain. How often are trees torn from the soil with the loss of three quarters of their roots, and these of course the smaller fibres, through which every tree derives the chief part of its nourishment. Indeed, it is the difficulty, as well as importance, of preserving these rootlets unimpaired, which renders it advisable to transplant all trees whatsoever at an early stage of their growth. We have heard it said, that the larger portion of every tree is under ground; in other words that the roots are much more widely spread than the branches; and certain it is, that they extend themselves, downwards and around, to a degree altogether unsuspected by common observers. Hence a great portion of them is often left in the ground on the removal of the tree, which thus receives its death-wound in the very act, and survives only to linger out a sickly existence in its new location. We believe it is now a general opinion among skilful gardeners, that nothing is gained by transplanting trees of more than two or three inches in diameter at farthest.

We are aware that these remarks are in direct opposition to a practice lately adopted in Scotland, and, as we are told by some writers of that country, with complete success. It is well known, that, within a few years, attempts have been made to transplant trees of mature age, and thus anticipate the tardy progress of natural growth, and raise magnificent groves and avenues in a single season. We are informed that thousands of trees thus removed are now growing at various country seats in Scotland, with as much luxuriance as if originally planted in their present localities. It is further said, that these splendid results may be effected at a very moderate expense, inasmuch as the removal of a tall tree of a foot in diameter can be effected for thirty shillings sterling. We cannot but think, that the success of the experiment has been depicted in quite too flattering colors; and we are still

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more confident, that the cost is greatly underrated. The removal of trees of a large size in this country, with a proper quantity of root to afford the tree the slightest chance of surviving, would require an expense of at least ten times the amount stated above; and no proper allowance for the different price of labor in New England and Scotland, respectively, will enable us to account for so wide a diversity. We have known some conspicuous instances, in which the experiment of removing trees of large magnitude and many years' growth has been fairly tried; and, though in each case the greatest care was taken, the manner in which the trees have grown, since transplanting, is any thing but encouraging to similar enterprises. The labor and expense attending the operation were such as would of themselves render the practice, as a general one, entirely out of the question.* We cannot but think, therefore, that those, who would adorn their grounds with magnificent trees, should wait for the slow but sure operation of Time, in place of resorting to an expedient, which, to say nothing of its expense, requires to be tried by a long and general experience, and of the success of which we have as yet none but imperfect, and apparently not very impartial, statements.

Whether trees can best be transplanted in the spring or autumn, is one of the vexed questions of horticulture. Our author gives a decided preference to the months of October and November. In this, however, he stands opposed to the prevailing sentiment and practice of American cultivators, who generally select the spring, although the busiest season of the year. We have heard it suggested by an eminent

* In confirmation of this remark, we quote the following extract from Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, Vol. V. p. 232, (Philad. edition,) merely reminding our readers, that the price of labor is much higher with us than in any part of Scotland.

"In September, the Highland Society of Scotland, at the request of the late Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton, sent a deputation to his seat in Lanarkshire, to examine and report on his famous improvements in the art of transplanting trees. Sir Walter was one of the Committee appointed for this business, and he took a lively interest in it, as witness the Essay on Landscape Gardening, which, whatever may be the fate of Sir Henry Stewart's own writings, will transmit his name to posterity. Scott made several Allantonian experiments at Abbotsford, but found reason, in the sequel, to abate something of his enthusiasm as to the *system*. The question, after all, comes to pounds, shillings, and pence; and, whether Sir Henry's accounts had or had not been accurately kept, the thing turned out greatly more expensive on Tweedside, than he had found it represented in Clydesdale."

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botanist, that autumnal planting is better adapted to the climate of Great Britain than to our own, inasmuch as our long and rigorous winter may often destroy the smaller roots of newly-planted trees, before they have fairly established themselves in the soil. It is to be wished, however, that the practice should have a thorough trial; for cultivators are so severely tasked to keep pace in their operations with the rapid progress of vegetation in our rapid spring, that much would be gained by the transfer of so important a branch of husbandry to a period of more leisure.

We pass over those parts of our author's Introduction which relate to propagation, pruning, grafting, and inoculation. These operations are described with great brevity and precision, and in truth the mode of performing them is much better learned from observation and experience than from the perusal of any description whatever. The tenth section treats of the artificial means by which the fruitfulness of trees may be increased. Most of these, such as dwarfing by ingrafting on a tree of smaller growth, — by inserting, for instance, the scion of the pear on a quince stock, — training more or less horizontally, &c., are well understood in this country. They are, however, seldom practised; and, with a very few exceptions, our fruits are the growth of standard trees. We are rather surprised to find the practice of debarking, or stripping the whole tree of its outer bark, down to the *liber*, recommended as one of these expedients. A tree might possibly be rendered more fruitful for a single season, but we apprehend, that in our climate, at least, the loss of its health, if not of its life, would soon and inevitably follow. A single winter of the Northern and Middle States, must prove a severe trial to a tree thus stripped of the larger part of its natural covering. Of this we have striking evidence in the effect of the early winter of 1831–2, a season which will long be remembered by gardeners in this vicinity. Thousands of young fruit trees were destroyed by the sudden setting in of cold weather, while older trees, of exactly the same description, were protected by their thick bark, as by a coat of mail.

The concluding section of our author's preliminary chapter treats of noxious Insects. Any treatise on agriculture would be indeed incomplete, which should omit all mention of this great branch of the animal kingdom. It has been

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supposed by one of the first entomologists in our country, that the bodies of all the insect tribe, if collected together, would form a larger mass than those of all other tribes of animals united. Those numerous species which derive their food from the vegetable creation, have long been the most dreaded enemies of the farmer and gardener. It is a general maxim, that the most wonderful results, good or evil, in the works both of nature and of man, are effected by the joint agency of numerous individuals, each of whom separately would be utterly unworthy of serious notice. To no topic can this remark be applied with more force, than to that now before us. Separately contemplated, nothing can be more contemptible than the insects which prey on our fields or our gardens; but their immense swarms render their ravages often as resistless and as destructive, as those of the lightning or the tornado. Human skill and strength can avail little against enemies, which escape our notice by their minuteness, elude our grasp by their agility, or defy our power by their countless numbers. The following remarks, of the late Dr. Dwight, will recommend themselves to our readers by their good sense, as well as their piety.

"Nothing can more strongly exhibit the dependence or the littleness of man, than the destruction of his valuable interests by such minute, helpless beings. The animals, which from our infancy we regard with terror, are the fierce and voracious inhabitants of the desert, the serpent, the catamount, the tiger, and the lion; but these mercifully on the part of Heaven are few in number, solitary in their life, and unfrequent invaders of human happiness,— sources rather of solemn amusement and fireside affright, than of rational or even real anxiety. The great army which God sent upon the Jews, *before which the land was as the garden of Eden and behind as a desolate wilderness, on account of which an alarm was sounded, a fast sanctified, and a solemn assembly proclaimed,* was levied from the tribes of the cankerworm, the caterpillar, the palmer-worm, and the locust. These, and their compeers, have been in all ages the army of God, which has humbled the pride, frustrated the designs, and destroyed the hopes of man."— *Travels in New England,* Vol. III. p. 301.

Scarcely any fruit tree is so fortunate as to be liable to the attacks of only one species of insect; and a bare catalogue of those tribes, which may be found engaged in their destructive work in every garden, would occupy several pages. There are three descriptions, however, whose ravages are far more

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extensive and conspicuous in New England orchards and fruit gardens, than those of any of their fellows, viz. the several species of borers, the cankerworm, and the caterpillar. A complete and convenient remedy against the first two is yet a desideratum. The borers it is true, both of the apple and the peach trees (for they are two very different insects), may be kept from their respective favorites, by a collar of any hard substance placed around the tree, just at the surface of the ground, the point at which both these assailants make their first inroads. The cankerworm, also, may be checked effectually by the process of tarring. But the application of these remedies is extremely inconvenient and troublesome, and requires a degree of attention and vigilance, which few are willing to exert. The caterpillar is completely within the control of every cultivator, who exerts only an ordinary degree of diligence. This is owing to the gregarious habits of these insects, who retire together at night to their nests, and do not leave them till the morning is far advanced. Hence they may be easily destroyed in their encampments; and, if the process is repeated at short intervals, the tree may be thoroughly cleared.

The brief sketch here given of our author's Introduction, will, we hope, serve to recommend his work to such of our readers as feel interested in its subject, and these, we trust, form a large and increasing class. There are few changes which we contemplate with more satisfaction, than the increased interest in the progress of agriculture, recently displayed by the people, as well as the rulers, of this and the neighbouring States. It is not now our purpose to speak of field cultivation, in other words of agriculture, strictly so called, though certainly nothing is more desirable, than that its immense importance should be duly estimated by men of all vocations. But the more elegant art of horticulture, that which bears the same relation to its substantial kindred art, which the graceful capital bears to the massy shaft, this, however pleasing to its true votaries, was till lately pursued by comparatively a very small number, and altogether neglected and disregarded by the community generally. A few years since, for instance, it was scarcely possible to procure the more delicate fruits, at any price, while thousands were every year expended on luxuries of a more doubtful character. Delicate fruits are now rapidly multiplying in our cities and

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their environs; and those, who distinguish themselves in the rearing of them, may hope for a large reward, not only in profit but in reputation. Few, indeed, can render greater services to the civilized world, than it has derived from the labors of skilful and discriminating cultivators of these exquisite productions. If he who makes two spires of grass grow where one grew before, is a public benefactor, what shall we say of him, who introduces or who disseminates a new variety of delicious fruit, and thus contributes to the innocent and salutary pleasures not only of his contemporaries, but of nations yet unborn. The gratification, thus ministered to each individual singly, may be deemed trifling; but, when we consider the number so gratified, how immense is the aggregate of human enjoyment. How long and how gratefully must such a gift be remembered. Of what moment to us, are the undaunted valor, and consummate generalship, displayed by Lucullus in his victories over Mithridates? They served only to bring one more gallant monarch into subjection to the haughty and gigantic power, whose iron sceptre has long since been shattered,— to add one more jewel to the diadem, which has been for ages trampled in the dust. But the taste and assiduity of the Roman general in naturalizing the cherry tree to the climate of Europe, have entitled him to the grateful commemoration of sixty generations. The empire, which France labored to establish on this continent, has long since passed away. The chain of fortresses which she erected on our northern and western borders, with so much skill and at such a cost, is rapidly vanishing from the soil. Her very language is fast departing from those regions, before the silent and peaceful progress of our institutions. But the orchards of magnificent and venerable pear trees, planted by French settlers on the banks of the beautiful Detroit River, yet remain, a noble monument to the honor of the parent country of modern horticulture. How few can hope for a reputation so extensive, so enduring, and so enviable, as that which will be awarded, both in his country and ours, to Thomas Andrew Knight. How long and how highly shall we honor the memory of this high-minded Englishman, as the disinterested and unwearied benefactor of our infant horticulture? How nobly has he exemplified the great truths, that the firmest loyalty to our own country is compatible with the utmost liberality towards others, and that, when the

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culture of the soil is in question, our views should know no other bounds than those of the great family of man. A few years, we trust, will show that there are those among us, who will emulate his truly honorable, though peaceful, achievements.

We speak from high authority, when we say, that the friends of horticulture in Europe are turning their eyes anxiously to this country. They are looking to our bright skies and fresh soil, for new varieties of delicious fruits, to supply the place of those, which, after centuries of existence, seem at last to be yielding to the lot of all earthly productions. Hopes so just and reasonable are surely not destined to return void. To some of our readers, the importance which we attach to our subject may seem exaggerated, if not ridiculous. Such may remark, that horticulture can form the chief business of life with very few; that generally it deserves no other name than that of an amusement; that, even in this point of view, it is better adapted to a country abounding in men of wealth and leisure, than to an economical and industrious community like ours; and that it is utterly absurd to speak of it as a subject which deserves to excite a deep and general interest.

Objections like these, however, have been frequently made among us to every secular object of pursuit, except those two leading objects of effort and ambition, wealth and political distinction. We would not refer either to the one or the other of these, with any cynical asperity. The pursuit of property has often been spoken of, by the mere votaries of literature, in a style which is any thing but creditable to their own good sense and candor. The honest enterprise of large classes who are busily engaged in providing for the reasonable comfort of their families, or in accumulating money not for its own sake, but for the sake of what may be procured and imparted by its liberal use, has been stigmatized by the name of avarice; and the unwearied industry and judicious frugality, which form the solid foundation of so many splendid virtues, and by which New England now is, and we trust ever will be distinguished, have been more than once made the theme of contemptuous reproach. Still it should be recollected, that the most active business is not without many intervals of leisure, and that the pursuit of property occupies the whole time of no individual, certainly of no large number of individuals. "Generally speaking," says one of

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the most elegant writers of the present age, "our occupations leave us time enough, if our passions would but spare us."

Nor is it certain that property, or indeed any other great object, is pursued with most success by those who allow themselves least time for repose or recreation. A pursuit, which is absolutely exclusive and unremitted, is very apt to become a feverish one; and he who pauses occasionally from his labors may gain more in cool reflection than he loses in actual effort. The late Stephen Girard certainly met with a degree of success in his regular vocation, which should satisfy the wishes of any reasonable aspirant; and yet it is well known, that much of his time was devoted to the cultivation of a country-seat in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and that he pursued this recreation with the same zeal and exactness, which rendered him so conspicuous in the commercial world. A very small portion of the surplus capital, and leisure time, of the most active men of business in any of our large towns, might place its neighbourhood, to a wide extent, in a state of high cultivation, scarcely paralleled in the most beautiful districts of England or Belgium. It is only the taste and spirit, which are requisite; and any means, by which these can be enkindled or diffused, must be highly valued by every true patriot.

What we have said of the pursuit of wealth, admits of a like application in regard to that of political distinction. That in a country like ours a passion for such distinction should be often indulged to a high degree, is perhaps unavoidable, and those who are under its control, certainly earn their reward. We should be the last to speak slightly of honors of any description, which are fairly earned and gracefully worn. We know, that the government of a free country is one, which can be well carried on only by the application of a large portion of the talent and character of the community; and we are aware also, that something of the time and thoughts of every good citizen must be given to the watchful inspection of the conduct of his representatives. We entertain little respect for those, who feel or affect an utter indifference in relation to all political transactions, but who generally are the first to lose their equanimity when the bad consequences of public measures press severely on their own interests; and, much as we deprecate political bitterness, we

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deem it more respectable, as well as less perilous, than political apathy. But it is certainly far from desirable, that the active and aspiring spirits of the country should consider political life as the only sphere of public usefulness, and the only passage to honorable distinction, or that political events should constitute (as they have done in former times) the all-absorbing topic of social conversation.

It will be perceived, that the above remarks apply more particularly to the inhabitants of the principal towns and their environs. It is to be expected, that horticulture should advance more rapidly to a high state of excellence in districts where the large markets render it a profitable pursuit to the mere gardener, while the amateur is more effectually inspirited by the sympathy and example of a dense neighbourhood. We trust, however, that its progress will not long be limited to such narrow bounds. Among the farmers, constituting in this country, as in all others of large extent, the great majority of the population, this art is, we believe, already emerging from its neglected condition. Considered as a mere amusement its claims are of no slight moment; for how often has it been remarked, that the amusements of a community, as they strikingly indicate, so are they most important in determining, the national character. Many of the rougher sports of the rural population of other days are now becoming obsolete; and what employment is better fitted to supply their places, whether we regard its physical or moral effects, than horticulture? Its soothing and purifying influence have been the theme of praises too trite, as well as too generally admitted, to need repetition.

There is an especial reason which should lead us to desire the general extension, throughout the community, of the culture of gardens, and more especially of fruit gardens; we mean its effects on the progress of Temperance. To all the strenuous efforts now making for the promotion of this great moral object, we need not say how cordially we bid "God speed." But it is a cause in which no fair auxiliary should be rejected, and few will be found more effectual than choice fruits. A fondness for these and for the fiery products of distillation cannot long exist together in the same individual; and, with a fair opportunity, the contest between them cannot well be a doubtful one. It has been said, that the use of a single fruit, we mean the coffee berry, has served more

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effectually to check the use of ardent spirits, than all other causes united, previous to the formation of Temperance Societies.

Our remarks have been limited, almost exclusively, to that more substantial branch of horticulture, which forms the main topic of Mr. Kenrick's work, the rearing of fruit trees. The still more elegant and delicate pursuit, that in which the poetry of gardening, so to speak, chiefly consists, we mean the cultivation of Flowers, is a topic deserving to be considered at far greater length than we could allow to it on the present occasion. We shall therefore close our remarks by some general suggestions in relation to the means of rendering horticulture, in all its branches, a more common and favorite pursuit. One of the most effectual of these means is certainly, as we have already intimated, the publication of judicious elementary treatises. It cannot be expected, however, that such productions should become at once very numerous, or that they should always be composed in the manner best calculated to effect their object. Books of this character are generally written by men belonging to one of two classes, those who practise gardening as a regular business, and those who speculate upon it as theorists. The practical gardener may want the power of communicating his knowledge in a popular style; and the mere amateur is still more likely to be deficient, in that acquaintance with facts, which are necessary to render his elegant essays of direct, practical value. In other words, works of the one class will generally be made up of dry instructions, and those of the other will possess scarcely any thing of an instructive character. The truth is, an extensive knowledge of gardening is in this country rarely found in any one except a professed gardener, because the study of the general principles of agriculture and horticulture is nowhere made a part of our early education. Scarcely any other art of high practical importance is thus neglected. It is well known, that all systems of instruction in the United States are of a general and superficial character, resembling more those of Scotland than of any other foreign country. The student is taught the rudiments of a great variety of important branches of knowledge, instead of being thoroughly instructed in a small number.

It would be an interesting task to trace the causes, as well as the consequences, of this marked peculiarity; but this

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would be foreign to our purpose, and we presume that the fact is unquestioned. We accordingly find the elements of almost every important art incorporated in the text-books of our principal seminaries. It would be deemed a very insufficient reason for passing over such topics, that, in most cases, they will have no immediate and constant connexion with the regular business of the pupil in after life. Hundreds of students are every year compelled, for instance, to study the first principles of architecture or navigation, although nine tenths of the number never advance any further in the practice of those arts, than to drive a nail, or steer a pleasure-boat. While it is admitted as a general principle, that no one can be a proficient in any thing but his peculiar business, it is deemed in most cases a misfortune, not to say a discredit, in any one claiming the name of a well-informed man, to be utterly ignorant in relation to any subject of high moment to the welfare of the community. Now, although the paramount importance of agricultural pursuits over all others is unquestioned, we suspect there is scarcely a school or college in the country, where a single hour is devoted to the elucidation of their leading principles; and we doubt not, that many have finished their academical course, able, perhaps, to repeat whole volumes of metaphysics in the words of the author, while they have not merely acquired no knowledge, but have formed no conception, of those familiar operations of the farmer and gardener, to which they are indebted for their daily food. Surely some few days of the ten years of pupilage through which so many of our youth pass, might be profitably given to subjects so interesting, as well as so important, as these.

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ART. VI. — *A Popular Essay on Subjects of Penal Law and on Uninterrupted Solitary Confinement at Labor, as contradistinguished to Solitary Confinement at Night and Joint Labor by Day; in a Letter to* John Bacon, Esquire, *President of the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons.* By FRANCIS LIEBER, Corresponding Member of the Society, Professor of History in South Carolina College. Philadelphia; published by Order of the Society.

THE previous publications of Dr. Lieber upon punishment and penal law, give him a strong claim to be heard with attention whenever he speaks upon these and similar subjects. His "Remarks on the Relation between Education and Crime," published in 1835, and his Introduction, Notes, and Additions to his translation of Beaumont and De Tocqueville's work on the Penitentiary System in the United States, contain the results of patient examination, reflection, and inquiry upon the great questions of criminal law, and the prevention and correction of crime, and recommend themselves by their enlightened humanity no less than by their philosophical spirit. The present work, an elaborate pamphlet of about a hundred pages, has been called forth by the controversy which has been some time going on in the country between the friends of what are commonly called the Pennsylvania system and the Auburn system, and is an exposition of the advantages of the former, the principle of which is uninterrupted solitary confinement at labor, while that of the latter is solitary confinement at night, and joint labor by day. A part of the work only is devoted to a comparison of the two systems; and, before proceeding to this portion of his proposed subject, he engages in a thorough examination of the questions, whence we derive the right of civil punition, what are its due limits, and for what precise purpose we punish; since, in point of fact, punishment is necessary, and society does possess the right to inflict it.

He first examines the various grounds, which have been assumed, in order to find the source of the right of punishment. The theory of expiation is defective in this, that expiation is a purely moral act, and belongs to the forum of conscience alone. Necessity or expediency, which seeks

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for the right of punishment in the effect of the punishment alone, without regard to the offender, affords neither a right to punish, nor a standard of the application of suffering. Somewhat similar to this is the theory of deterring, — establishing examples, — the prevention of criminal action in some by exhibiting to them the suffering which it has brought upon others. This, in the first place, does not answer the question, Whence do we derive the right to punish? Moreover, we have no right to make use of one human being as an instrument simply, to make him suffer solely for the benefit of others. Besides, the theory does not give us a just standard of punishment; because the legislator would be bound to affix the several penalties, not to those crimes which are the most atrocious, but to those which men were most strongly tempted to commit. The theory of special prevention, or the depriving the criminal of the power of committing the same offence a second time, settles no principle and admits of no scale of punishment; because the means of effectual prevention must be always the same, — death or imprisonment for life. Some found the right of punishment in the theory of warning, — in the right which the state has to warn every one, not to disturb its order, by affixing beforehand a penalty to every offence. This, however, begs the question, for, "when we are asked to grant the truth, that the state has a right to warn its citizens, we either understand by warning, simply and strictly warning, or warning with the right of executing the threatened penalty in case of contravention. If we mean the first, we grant nothing, and no right of punishment can be deduced from our concession; if we mean the second, we grant the very thing to be proved, namely, the right of punishing." Besides, it is defective in affording no standard of punishment. The theory which rests the right of punishment upon a civil contract, by which society punishes offences as so many breaches of the contract entered into between it and the individual members composing it, is invalidated, in Dr. Lieber's opinion, by two objections; in the first place, that there is no such contract in point of fact; and, in the second place, if the contract were granted, we have not yet proved the right which the contracting parties had of making it.

Many philanthropists have asserted, that the only legitimate object of punishment, and therefore the only ground on which

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we can found the right of punishing, is the correction or reform of the convict. Although the reform of the criminal enters largely into every true penal theory, it is far from affording us the right of punishment. The moral correction of the citizens, as such, is not one of the obligations of the state; if it were, the most insufferable inquisitorial power would be established. Various other objections may be urged against it, on theoretical grounds; and, in practice, it is next to impossible to decide, with any degree of satisfactory probability, whether reform in any given case, is real or pretended. Retaliation, as the sole basis and object of punishment, admits of nearly the same objections to which expiation is liable; and it becomes the more objectionable, the more it approaches to revenge. Retaliation and revenge, as the object of punishment, belong to those early stages of society, when the state has not yet clearly severed itself from the family, and personal wrongs are taken to be family wrongs. From this arises the system of composition, by which offences are estimated in certain rates of money to be paid by the offending to the offended party. The next step in the progress of penal law is to have these compositions assessed by a judge, with power to punish in default of payment. Some distinguished philosophers have maintained, that punishment is merely retribution, and that civil punition is inflicted for the sake of justice, and for no other reason. This opinion rests upon a confusion of sin, or offence against the moral law, with crime, or offence against the state. The theory, moreover, leaves unanswered the question, Why should a man be punished for the sake of justice? The theory, which establishes the right to punish from the principle of self-defence, originally vested in the individual, and subsequently in the state, would lead to the merest expediency; for self-defence, or self-preservation, places all means at our disposal, and leaves it to our own will to make the selection.

Having stated his objections to these various theories and opinions on the nature of punishment, Dr. Lieber proceeds to give his own views upon the subject, considering it under the following heads; What is the nature of punishment? On what grounds rests the punitory power, or whence do we derive penal right? What is the standard of punishment? What is the object of punishment?

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The state he defines to be a society founded on right, or a *jural* society, the word *jural* being legitimately formed from the Latin *jus*, as *rural* is from *rus*; and with reference to state, corresponding to the word *religious* with reference to church. *Right* is here taken in its primordial sense, as that which gives the foundation of all single rights. All the relations of the individual to the state must be founded on right, or the idea of the just; and we can do nothing within the sphere of the state, for which we do not first establish the right we may have to do it. The state is by no means to be confounded with society at large. The state is established for the protection of society, and is its necessary manifestation; but it is distinct from it. "Now, if we call right, that which indicates man's relations to the state, or that which is the necessary consequence of his relations, founded on the just, towards others, that which the state is bound to grant him, punishment, is the right between society and the offender, or, however paradoxical it may appear at first glance, the right both of the society and the offender." But to meet this definition, punishment must be at once just and necessary. All idea of the just is founded in equality; and every member of the state must grant to others the right he claims for himself; and, if he interferes with the rightful state of others, he grants them the abstract right to interfere with his. The principle of the law of retaliation, which has its origin in abstract right, passes over into the state; for the state is a society, in which every one individually owes certain duties to every one collectively, and each interference with the rights of the individual is an interference with the state, a wrong inflicted upon it. The law of retaliation was deficient in this point, that it omitted the consideration of the object we have in view in the infliction of evil or suffering; for, though we may have the abstract right, yet if we inflict pain without a good purpose in view, it becomes cruelty; and this establishes the principle, "that though equality, and the idea on which the state is founded, give us the abstract right of retaliation, we can make use of it only so far as it shall be found necessary."

The question, What is the standard of punishment? is closely connected with this; What is the object of punishment? The first object of the state is the protection or security of its members; and this security is twofold, material and intel-

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lectual, direct or indirect. Direct security is positive protection against direct wrong; indirect security is that security, which results from the maintenance of that general state of society, without which its ends cannot be obtained. The true standard of punishment, therefore, is the danger, material or intellectual, to society; and the effect the punishment has on society or the punished individual himself. Disproportionate punishments are objectionable on two accounts; because they are unjust, and consequently opposed to the idea of the just, on which the state is founded, and because the effect of the punishment is destroyed.

Reciprocity, on the ground of equality, being the principle of the right of punishment, immorality becomes punishable when and because it interferes with the rights of others. A committed wrong is not only the material wrong done to our neighbour, but the moral wrong of interference with the rights of others. It is on this ground, that the state has a right to punish excessive cruelty to animals; for, though no legal offence against the animal itself can be committed, if the cruelty be committed publicly, it is an offence against the rights of the citizens who see it; and it is no answer to say that the animal belongs to his tormentor, for no man has a right to do as he pleases with his own.

We are aware, that we have given a very imperfect abstract of this portion of Dr. Lieber's pamphlet, which admits, indeed, of very little condensation, it being a close and compact piece of reasoning, which embraces many original and striking views, and deserves and will well repay a diligent study. Having settled certain preliminary and fundamental principles, he proceeds to give a sketch of the various characteristics which sound punishment ought to possess. These we should be glad to transfer to our pages in full, did our limits permit; but we must content ourselves with copying the tabular abstract, which he himself has furnished.

"Punishment, with regard to its principle, ought to be;
I. A sufferance.
II. Just.
III. Striking the offender alone.
With regard to its effect;
IV. It ought to prevent crime,
By warning the community,
By correcting the offender, politically or morally,

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By maintaining the moral character of the state.

V. It ought to protect.

With regard to its administration ;

VI. It ought to be certain.

VII. Free from revenge, cruelty.

VIII. Calm.

With regard to its qualities ;

IX. It ought to be graduable,

X. " " accommodable,

XI. " " calculable,

XII. " " uniform.

With regard to its psychologic effect on the offender ;

XIII. It ought not to irritate,

XIV. " to make thoughtful,

XV. " not to provoke,

XVI. " to adapt itself to the individuality of the offender.

With regard to the state ;

XVII. The state has the most sacred duty not to make the convict worse.

XVIII. It has a right to reform.

XIX. It has a duty to do so.

XX. It should endeavour to reunite the offender to society.

XXI. It has a right and a duty to make the convict work.

XXII. It must annihilate all causes of crime, wherever it has a right to act, (within or without the convict.) "— pp. 43,44.

Dr. Lieber next proceeds to examine the various punishments which have been in use among mankind, with a view to ascertain how large a proportion each one contains of the above characteristics of punishment as it ought to be. The following is the list of those he passes under review.

" Apology, or publicly asking pardon. Fine. Ridicule. Censure. Dishonor. Declaration of unworthiness of public confidence. Privation of privileges. Degradation. Distinction in dress. Infamation of the offender. Infamation of his descendants. Pillory. Whipping. Public whipping. Branding. Infliction of pain otherwise than by whipping. Imprisonment. Imprisonment with public labor. Exile. Transportation. Maiming. Death. Death, with additional pains or infamatory procedures." — pp. 44, 45.

For his valuable and judicious observations upon these kinds of punishment, and his candid estimate of their various excellences and defects, we must refer our readers to the pamphlet itself, as we could not copy them entire, without

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occupying too much room, and it would be doing injustice to the author, to attempt any condensation of his views, which are already stated with great brevity. The result to which he arrives, is, that there is no form of punishment, which presents so many advantages as imprisonment, attended with the insulation of each prisoner.

The principle being thus established, the next question is, How shall it be put in practice? The advocates of the Pennsylvania system, so called, say that nothing short of actual, material insulation is sufficient; the advocates of the Auburn system, on the other hand, contend, that all the necessary effects of insulation can be obtained by actual separation during night, and joint labor in silence during the day. The remainder of the pamphlet is devoted to a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of the Pennsylvania system, of the objections urged against it by the advocates of the Auburn system, and of what are conceived to be the unavoidable disadvantages of the Auburn system. We present to our readers an extract, containing an exposition of the supposed advantages of the Pennsylvania system.

"We conceive uninterrupted solitude and labor of equal importance, for the following reasons;

"1. It prevents effectually contamination, and it alone can effectually prevent it. It allows, therefore, the offender, at any rate, not to grow worse.

"2. It is essentially both a stern and a humane punishment; stern, because solitude is stern in its character and especially so to men, who nearly without exception have spent their lives in boisterous intercourse with fellow criminals; and humane, because it is a privation rather than an infliction. It is mild, and acknowledged as such by the offenders themselves, after the first irksomeness of solitude has passed, especially if they have passed previously through several other prisons or penitentiaries. Whomever of this class I have known, has voluntarily confessed it, while frequently their eyes would flash with resentment when they spoke of penitentiaries founded on other plans. Solitary confinement at labor is decidedly a calm punishment.

"3. It is emphatically graduable and accommodable, as no other species of punishment. The offender, undisturbed by others, or by new inflictions of punishment, receives from solitude just that impression, which his peculiar case or disposition calls for or is capable of.

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"4. Advice and exhortation can be adapted to each single case in no other punishment, so precisely and justly like moral medicine, as in solitary confinement. The religious adviser, assistant, and comforter can enter the solitary cell at any time; and, as all religious conversations with a convict must have much of the character of a confession, the undisturbed cell, overheard by no one, is the very place for this converse. In no other penitentiaries can this religious instruction be given so effectually.

"5. Solitude is the weightiest moral agent to make the thoughtless thoughtful,—to reflect, and the only one sufficiently powerful for the criminally thoughtless. Solitude has been sought by the wisest and best of mankind, to prepare themselves for great moral tasks; it is the only means to bring the offender to a more rational course. Labor united with solitude, gives steadiness to the thought, and makes it possible to support solitude with ease for those who have not been accustomed to abstract reflection before.

"6. It is the only punishment known, which does not irritate anew, does not challenge opposition in mind or body; for it is the only punishment which can dispense with the whip or other means of coercing to obedience, because it takes away the opportunity of offending anew, with the exception of such offences as destroying instruments or materials, for which again the more negative disciplinary means of withholding labor or diminishing rations are sufficient.

"7. It makes the lonely prisoner love labor as faithfully as the dearest companion,—a companion who will be with him for life.

"8. It does not deaden shame by exposure; on the contrary, it shames many into repentance by its absence of all harshness, as I frequently have found. It does not inflict on those, who have a strong sense of shame, the additional punishment of exposure.

"9. It does not expose the convict to acquaintance, even by night, with other criminals, who out of the prison form a very compact fraternity, to escape from the clutches of which forms the most difficult obstacle in the way of resuming an honest life. The history of innumerable convicts proves this. Whenever I have asked recommitted convicts why, simply on the score of worldly prudence, they had not abstained from a second crime, they would invariably answer, 'You do not know these things;' a man leaving the prison, very often thinks, 'You shall not catch me again.' He begins to work, when old acquaintances will come, induce one to drink and talk, and all will end by agreeing upon a new job. If one re-

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sists, he is ridiculed, or threatened with exposure.' No tiger's fang is so firmly buried in his victim's flesh, as that of criminal acquaintance in the life of an offender.

"10. It contradicts for the first time, by irresistible fact, the convicts in their belief that society is at war with them, in which they please themselves so much, that frequently they argue as if they were the hunted, the pursued, the injured.

"11. The punishment has, therefore, what I have called an elevating character. It touches the man in the convict, not the brute. The convict sees himself treated as one on whom far different things than stripes can have an effect.

"12. It is, perhaps, the only punishment which allows us to select men for superintendents of prisons in whom sternness does not overbalance kindness.

"13. It trains the convict in cleanliness, and paying attention to the neatness of his dwelling: it imparts an attention to the room, which becomes the incipient stage of love of home, with those who have lived in slouchy disregard of it. It is an old English saying, full of meaning, 'Cleanliness is next to godliness.' A strictly cleanly man of the laboring classes will never be so much exposed to offend against the laws, as a disorderly, dirty person. Cleanliness, a highly important ingredient of national civilization, is equally such in political reform.

"14. All the reasons given in favor of the Pennsylvania plan assume still higher importance with the youthful or first offenders, because their minds are yet more ready to receive good impressions, and they have not yet formed that vast association with criminals of older standing. I was once present when a convict was brought to be entered in the Philadelphia Penitentiary. His age, — he was past forty, and the peculiar manner with which he spoke of his mode of life, which cannot be designated precisely as frivolity, but rather professional indifference, attracted my attention. He had been seventeen years of his life in prison, never before in a penitentiary on the Pennsylvania plan; and I chose him as an experiment to observe the effect of solitary confinement on an old offender, who 'had lived in various lines, but always in that trade,' as his words were. I cannot give here an extract of my journal, respecting him, but will merely mention that John, — this was his name, — after having treated lightly the confinement, and not having changed for a long time to speak with frankness indeed, but also with perfect unconcern of his 'trade,' and the various lines in which the different nations excel, one day said to me of his own accord, and with more gravity than I had been accustomed to observe with him; 'Sir, what will be-

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come of me, I don't know. To be sure, I now think it foolish enough to live as I have done ; but I do not know how it will be, when I get out. I am accustomed to nothing else. But, Sir, had they put me here when I committed my first offence, I know for certain I should not be here now.'

" 15. It appears to me a great advantage of the Pennsylvania system, that the prisoner is not prevented, by false shame, from lending his ear to better counsel, and gradually changing for the better. Wherever a number of men live together in close community under some superiors, a degree of fear exists of being considered by their comrades as a peculiar favorite of those placed over them, on account of stricter compliance with the respective laws and rules. We find this in schools, colleges, among soldiers, sailors, &c. The individual does not wish to be suspected of using unfair means, or being an informer, in order to obtain this favor ; and this well founded feeling leads generally to the excess I have alluded to. In a community, however, in which a ready compliance with the rules of the superiors becomes, in a manner, a reproach to the others, a joining of the opposite party as it were, a declaration of the intention to abandon in future those who, until then, have been associates, it requires far more resolution and moral character to brave the sneers of former comrades, and, perhaps, own false shame of declaring one's self ready to surrender. The apprehension of a nickname is one of the most powerful agents in any community ; but how easily is such a nickname, a taunt, a word of contempt, passed on in the lock-step of the Auburn system. All this difficulty is happily removed in our system ; no false shame awaits the convict when he shows the first signs of sorrow, when he utters his first acknowledgment of guilt or folly; at least no shame of appearing weak before comrades in guilt, which is far more powerful than that of surrendering to those whom the prisoner almost always allows to be better, with the same readiness with which a prostitute will always speak of other women as virtuous ones.

" 16. The convict thinks in kindness of his keepers, and the memory of the penitentiary is not a galling sore, when he has left it, and chooses to live by his labor.

" 17. This system depends less upon the skill of the officers, or a long apprenticeship, than the Auburn system, in order to make it answer at all. The Pennsylvania system, therefore, is easier to be introduced.

" 18. It is sufficient with our race and at the stage of civilization we are now in, and no more, which is what a punishment ought to be. This point, which by experience alone, i. e. by close and circumspect observation of reality, not by hasty

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numbers and rash conclusions, can be decided, appears so to us; and none of us has seen reason as yet to change his opinion.

"19. Finally, it offers the greatest security, being in this superior to all other species of imprisonment."—pp. 62–67.

The disadvantages of the above system are stated to be, not of a moral or essential character, but merely accidental, and to consist principally in the greater expense of building the prison, and in the fact that many profitable species of labor cannot be pursued, because they cannot be carried on within doors, or because they require joint labor; and prisons are, obviously, not erected to make money, but to punish, and if possible to reform by punishment, and no pecuniary considerations should be allowed to interfere with this purpose.

The objections made by those who prefer the Auburn system, are stated to be comprehended under the following heads; that we have no right to condemn a human being to uninterrupted solitude, that it is a violation of the law of God, that solitude drives men to despair, and that the Sabbath cannot be properly celebrated. Dr. Lieber meets these several objections with great firmness, and controverts the positions of his opponents with much force of argument, clothed in vigorous and occasionally eloquent language. His remarks in reply to the last charge are deserving of particular attention.

The concluding pages of the pamphlet are occupied with a statement of objections to the Auburn system. The friends of uninterrupted confinement at labor, while they acknowledge the Auburn system to be a great improvement upon the former method of imprisonment, are nevertheless opposed to it on the following grounds. Because, while it admits that insulation is the fundamental principle of all sound discipline, it does not carry it out, but stops short of its true effect. Because it cannot be maintained without personal violence and the constant use of the whip. Because the inmates become known to each other, which knowledge, in after life, may be so employed as to defeat the efforts made by the discharged convict to lead a good life. Because the community ought to have confidence in a prison, which can only be maintained by free access to it; and the allowing of persons to come and gaze freely at the prisoners, when met together

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for labor, is objectionable; and, finally because, if the principle of cheapness be maintained, it will be impossible to give to the cells on the Auburn plan, those dimensions, and that character, which they should have. These various objections are earnestly and eloquently supported, and, in the course of his remarks, many curious facts are stated, which were learned by Dr. Lieber from the lips of convicts themselves. The summary of his objections to the Auburn system, is stated in the following paragraph;

"We think, then, that the Auburn system does not effect what it strives to effect; does not afford an accommodable punishment; does not sufficiently prevent the growing worse of the convict; does not obtain the highest effect with the smallest means; requires physical violence to be maintained, and, therefore, irritates anew; is not well calculated for that religious or intellectual instruction which the criminal requires; does not prevent entirely contamination, and does not calm the prisoner; while it offers no other advantage than that of saving money in the first outlay, which, we think, is vastly overbalanced by the steady, sure, mild, yet effective mode of the Pennsylvania system, and therefore believe the latter to be greatly preferable." — pp. 89, 90.

It has been our object, in the foregoing remarks, to give merely an abstract of the contents of Dr. Lieber's pamphlet, without going into any speculations of our own; and we are sensible how little justice our imperfect analysis does to its sterling merits. To all persons who are interested in the great questions of prison discipline and penal law, we recommend its diligent perusal. It is the production of one, who has thought deeply and carefully upon these subjects, and advanced nothing rashly or crudely, and is enriched with those facts and observations, which are the results of practical knowledge and personal experience, and is written in a vigorous English style, which betrays the foreign origin of its author, only by an occasional stiffness of expression, and not by any violations of idiom. Of course, many will reject his conclusions upon the much controverted subject of the comparative merits of the two systems; but all candid minds must unite in assigning a high value to his remarks upon the nature and ends of punishment in general, which occupy rather more than half of the whole pamphlet. Whoever, hereafter, shall write upon any of the subjects discussed in this work, with-

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out first giving it a careful examination, must be considered as having undertaken a task, for which he had not yet entirely qualified himself.

ART. VII. — *Probus, or Rome in the Third Century. In Letters of Lucius M. Piso, from Rome, to Fausta, the Daughter of Gracchus, at Palmyra.* New York: C. S. Francis. Boston: Joseph H. Francis. 12mo. 2 vols.

THE "Letters from Palmyra," of which the present work is the sequel, is one of the most brilliant additions to American literature. To have fallen on a subject of such admirable capabilities, and unappropriated by previous seekers after attractive themes for works of fiction, was a piece of rare good fortune, in an age of such literary abundance as the present; to have treated it in a manner fully equal to its demands on the imagination required high powers, persevering labor, and the keenest perception. All this was done in that beautiful work.

But we have already given our opinion of its merits, at a length, which forbids us now to indulge in further commendation.* The subject of the present work, is one of a deeper moral interest, but of less variety in the incidents, and less picturesqueness in the coloring. In its general outlines, the subject has also been more or less successfully treated, by other authors. The persecutions of the early Christians, under the Roman Emperors, have been described by the pens of both historians and novelists; their sufferings, their heroic endurance, and their purity of life, have become familiar to all classes of readers. So far, then, our author has entered upon already trodden ground. But in two or three important particulars, he has given us highly original pictures. Others have delineated the early Christians too much according to their own peculiar, and sectarian opinion. In this work, the primitive form and simplicity of our religion are kept steadily in view. Others have made all Christians nearly alike, as if their religion had an extraordinary power of destroying individuality of character, and of

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLV. pp. 390 et seq.

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fusing all the passions, hopes, weaknesses, and fears of multitudes into one indistinguishable mass of piety and constancy ; as if all the elements of character, like the items of personal property, had been thrown into one common stock. But this disregard of the principles of human nature, and its ever-varying phenomena, has been carefully avoided by the author of Probus. His Christian characters are as firmly and distinctly drawn as his Pagan. Each man is affected, by the operations of the Christian faith, exactly according to the original tendencies of his character. He is as much a distinct individual after his conversion as before ; he acts out his own nature in the one case as much as in the other. They all have their several excellences, virtues, and weaknesses, — the necessary condition of humanity. But they are all, at the same time, under a more exalting influence, guided by a steadier light, sustained by a more satisfying hope, than Pagan mythology and philosophy had ever conceived. Thus the extravagant representations of other writers, who have used early Christianity as a means of exciting interest, nowhere occur in "Probus" ; while all the calm strength of the sincere disciple, and the burning zeal of enthusiastic natures, are most admirably exhibited.

A large part of the work is taken up with discussions of the evidences of Christianity, its claims to the love of men, and its effects upon their condition and character. This trait of the work naturally grows out of the circumstances of the times in which the scene is laid. The story runs through the last years of the reign of Aurelian. The Emperor has become corrupted by the possession of power ; his superstitions have been roused by the ferocious priest, Fronto, whose influence over his mind has become gradually more complete and more deadly ; the violent passions of his nature, which have heretofore been somewhat held in check, are stimulated to acts of fury and outrage. A storm of persecution is gradually gathering over the Christian churches, and every power of argument and persuasion is called into activity for the defence of their menaced religion. Thus the grounds of their faith are reviewed and scrutinized ; objections to it answered ; and its moral influence set forth with a clearness, and convincing power, with a simplicity and calmness of statement, which might be well imitated in works of a professedly religious character. These parts of the

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work will be less interesting to those who read for amusement, than the gorgeous scenes and stirring adventures, that fill the "Letters from Palmyra"; but they are strictly in keeping with the story and the times; and they have a permanent value, as being the reflections of a profoundly thoughtful mind upon subjects of the most momentous import.

The leading Christian characters Probus, Felix, and Macer, are finely discriminated from each other, and admirably executed, whether considered as portraits of individuals or as representatives of classes. Probus is the calm and judicious Christian; ready to endure any thing, if called so to endure by his sense of duty, but never rashly provoking danger; earnestly preaching Christian truth, but never uttering harsh denunciations; leading a life of spotless purity, and charitably construing the faults and follies of others. Felix loves Christianity, but loves the shows and pomps of the world nearly as well. Luxury and parade have for him attractions, which he cannot resist. He is, therefore, showy, pompous, and luxurious, but not depraved; presenting just that mixture of regard for religion, particularly its outward observances, and of the love of worldly indulgences, which we may see at the present day, in a portion of the members of more than one established church. Macer, on the contrary, is a zealous enthusiast, not merely willing to endure the sufferings of martyrdom, but earnestly courting its honors. Human weakness modifies his Christian character, just as it modifies that of Felix; but the effect is shown in a different manner. In the one, it is a love of worldly honor to which vanity aspires; in the other, a love of honor at the hands of the church, and in the memory of all coming times. These characters are, and are meant to be, inferior to the first, to Probus, who is an example of almost faultless, yet quite attainable excellence, under Christian influences. He would have been a Socrates in ancient Pagan times; he would have been the cheerful, eloquent, and consistent pastor of modern Christendom; performing his duties calmly, and presenting in his own life all that is amiable and beautiful in the character of the Christian gentleman.

The style of these works cannot be too highly commended. It is easy, graceful, and pure, — varying with the subject, and happily expressive of all its changes. In narrative, it is simple and unadorned. In description of external

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scenery it becomes ornate, and sometimes highly colored. In presenting scenes, which involve human actions and passions, it is warm, brilliant, and animated. The plot is carried on amidst the antiquities and innumerable historical associations of the Eternal City; all the proprieties of the time, and the august place, are observed, and indicated, in the language, with accurate knowledge and exquisite taste. It is a great excellence in fictitious composition, to make the reader *see* the things described; but, in order to do this, the writer must first see himself, at least in imagination. Goethe relates of himself, that he was accustomed to make sketches with a pencil, of whatever scenes struck his eye in an artistical light, while he was journeying; and these sketches were used, in the description of scenes, in his novels and poems. Hence the wonderful picturesqueness and truth of his delineations of nature. This is precisely the leading excellence of the descriptive parts in both of our author's works. They seem to be realities reduced to writing; as if he had actually drawn them first with a pencil, and, from the pictures thus accurately stamped upon his memory, traced in clear and appropriate words, the scenes amidst which his plot is carried on. This remark applies as well to the architectural scenes as to the natural.

We select as a specimen the dedication of the temple of the Sun.

"At the appointed hour we were at the palace of Aurelian, on the Palatine, where a procession, pompous as art and rank and numbers could make it, was formed, to move thence by a winding and distant route to the temple, near the foot of the Quirinal. Julia repaired with Portia to a place of observation near the temple, — I to the palace, to join the company of the Emperor. Of the gorgeous magnificence of the procession, I shall tell you nothing. It was in extent and variety of pomp, and costliness of decoration, a copy of that of the late triumph, and went even beyond the captivating splendor of the example. Roman music, — which is not that of Palmyra, — lent such charms as it could, to our passage through the streets to the temple, from a thousand performers.

"As we drew near to the lofty fabric, I thought that no scene of such various beauty and magnificence had ever met my eye. The temple itself is a work of unrivalled art. In size it surpasses any other building of the same kind in Rome, and for the excellence of workmanship and purity of design,

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although it may fall below the standard of Hadrian's age, yet, for a certain air of grandeur and luxuriance of invention in its details, and lavish profusion of embellishment in gold and silver, no temple or other edifice of any preceding age ever perhaps resembled it. Its order is the Corinthian, of the Roman form, and the entire building is surrounded by its slender columns, each composed of a single piece of marble. Upon the front is wrought Apollo surrounded by the Hours. The western extremity is approached by a flight of steps of the same breadth as the temple itself. At the eastern, there extends beyond the walls, to a distance equal to the length of the building, a marble platform, upon which stands the altar of sacrifice, and which is ascended by various flights of steps, some little more than a gently rising plain, up which the beasts are led that are destined to the altar.

"When this vast extent of wall and column of the most dazzling brightness came into view, everywhere covered, together with the surrounding temples, palaces, and theatres, with a dense mass of human beings, of all climes and regions, dressed out in their richest attire, — music from innumerable instruments filling the heavens with harmony, — shouts of the proud and excited populace, every few moments and from different points, as Aurelian advanced, shaking the air with their thrilling din, — the neighing of horses, the frequent blasts of the trumpet, — the whole made more solemnly imposing by the vast masses of cloud which swept over the sky, now suddenly unveiling and again eclipsing the sun, the great god of this idolatry, and from which few could withdraw their gaze ; — when at once this all broke upon my eye and ear, I was like a child, who before had never seen aught but his own village, and his own rural temple, in the effect wrought upon me, and the passiveness with which I abandoned myself to the sway of the senses. Not one there was more ravished by the outward circumstance and show. I thought of Rome's thousand years, of her power, her greatness, and universal empire, and for a moment my step was not less proud than that of Aurelian. But after that moment, — when the senses had had their fill, when the eye had seen the glory, and the ear had fed upon the harmony and the praise, then I thought and felt very differently ; sorrow and compassion for these gay multitudes were at my heart ; prophetic forebodings of disaster, danger, and ruin to those to whose sacred cause I had linked myself, made my tongue to falter in its speech and my limbs to tremble. I thought that the superstition that was upheld by the wealth and the power, whose manifestations were before me, had its roots in the very centre of the earth, — far too

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deep down for a few like myself ever to reach them. I was like one whose last hope of life and escape is suddenly struck away.

"I was roused from these meditations by our arrival at the eastern front of the temple. Between the two central columns, on a throne of gold and ivory, sat the Emperor of the world, surrounded by the senate, the colleges of augurs and haruspices, and by the priests of the various temples of the capital, all in their peculiar costume. Then Fronto, the priest of the temple, when the crier had proclaimed that the hour of worship and sacrifice had come, and had commanded silence to be observed, — standing at the altar, glittering in his white and golden robes, like a messenger of light, — bared his head, and, lifting his face up toward the sun, offered in clear and sounding tones the prayer of dedication." — Vol. I. pp. 96 – 99.

The story proceeds with the gradual irritation of the Emperor's mind against the Christians, by the machinations of Fronto. The persecutions commence, and are carried on with cruel vigor, even to the shedding of blood. For a time, Piso and his friends are shielded by their high rank and the Emperor's protection, from the dangers in which the other Christians were involved ; but, after his departure on some distant warlike expedition, the suppression of the Christian heresy is intrusted to the hands of Fronto, who takes immediate measures to arrest Piso and his wife, and prepares to go to extremities. They are brought before the tribunal, and just as the torture is to be applied, a commotion in the streets puts a stop to the proceedings, and the news is brought of Aurelian's assassination by officers in his army. Under his successor the persecution ceases, and here the narrative comes to an appropriate conclusion. The book leaves an impression of completeness, just proportion, and admirable distribution of parts, which are found in perfection only in the works of great masters.

ART. VIII. — *Moral Views of Commerce, Society, and Politics, in Twelve Discourses.* By ORVILLE DEWEY. New York : David Felt & Company. 12mo. pp. 300.

THE subjects treated in this volume are the following ; the Moral Laws of Trade ; the Moral Law of Contracts ; the Uses of Labor, and a Passion for a Fortune ; the Moral

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Limits of Accumulation; the Natural and Artificial Relations of Society; the Moral Evils, to which American Society is exposed; Associations; Social Ambition; the Place which Education and Religion must have in the Improvement of Society; War; Political Morality; and the Blessing of Freedom.

A glance at this list shows the subjects to be out of the usual range of pulpit discussion. Adverting to this fact in his Preface, Mr. Dewey says;

"The question then is, What is the proper range of the pulpit? What is the appropriate business of preaching? The answer is plain; To address the public mind on its moral and religious duties and dangers. But what are its duties and dangers, and where are they to be found? Are they not to be found wherever men are acting their part in life? Are human responsibility and exposure limited to any one sphere of action, to the church or to the domestic circle, or to the range of the gross and sensual passions? Are not men daily making shipwreck of their consciences in trade and politics? And wheresoever conscience goes to work out its perilous problem, shall not the preacher follow it? It is not very material, whether a man's integrity forsakes him at the polls in an election, or at the board of merchandise, or at the house of rioting, or the gates whose way leadeth to destruction. Outwardly it may be different, but inwardly it is the same. In either case, the fall of the victim is the most deplorable of all things on earth; and most fit, therefore, for the consideration of the pulpit. I must confess, I cannot understand by what process of enlightened reasoning and conscience, the preacher can come to the conclusion, that there are wide regions of moral action and peril around him, into which he may not enter, because such unusual words as, Commerce, Society, Politics, are written over the threshold." — pp. vi. vii.

We heartily assent to the justness of these remarks. If preaching is to do any considerable good, it must be through a reference and application to the circumstances of condition, and the habits of thinking and feeling, of the minds which it addresses. Like other speech, it will make an impression in some degree proportioned to the attention and interest with which it is met; and a speaker is sure of being heedfully listened to, who makes intelligent suggestions upon subjects, which they whom he addresses have to consider from day to day. If the business of preaching is to keep men from grow-

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ing worse, and help them to grow better, nothing can be more undeniably its proper sphere, — however different the view, which from any cause may have been taken of it, — than the consideration of those dangers and duties which specially concern those whom it undertakes to improve.

Certainly, we would by no means have a preacher always treating rules of conduct belonging to peculiar circumstances of social relation, in which he understands his hearers to be placed ; or even rules of conduct, of any kind. His task is by no means so limited, nor is the inculcation of special rules so much as its chief office. But, with his expositions of the relation of the human being to the divine being, and to the eternal world, and his more general enforcements of the obligation of the principle and spirit of obedience, we confess, that we would have him blend largely his counsels, cautions, and encouragements, having reference to the particular wants of individual consciences. If you would help a man to be a good Christian, in short, show him what are the duties of that character in the particular place in society which he fills, and how, from any circumstances of that condition, he is exposed to the danger of becoming otherwise. Help him to some guidance in his daily perplexities ; some insight into his daily temptations ; some intelligent firmness for his daily struggles.

Preaching in this country needs to be a somewhat different thing from what it has been elsewhere ; and the American preacher should beware of keeping himself too closely to the foreign models of his art. Society, among us, is undoubtedly in some respects in an unsettled condition ; and, in many more, in an extremely novel one. One whole important department of virtuous or vicious action is here opened to every citizen, with which the mass of other communities have nothing to do. Every citizen here is, in a material sense, a public man ; needing, therefore, for his own and the common good, to be acquainted with the obligations of public virtue. In the different relations which a condition of political equality brings about, the duties of social intercourse take a new modification. And, though it might not be safe to trace the intenseness of the commercial spirit among us to any peculiarity of our institutions, yet, since that spirit, in that excited degree, is, from whatever cause, a marked characteristic of our society, it makes a loud call for appropriate moral treatment.

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We hold, therefore, that the American preacher is executing his office suitably, profitably, and honorably, when he finds a place in his public instructions, for such as relate to obligations and dangers especially belonging to the place and time. We would not, of course, have every preacher undertake such a task as that, which Mr. Dewey has so well performed. Questions of casuistry, of the kind of some which he has treated, demand a grasp of mind by no means possessed by every useful and respectable clergyman. A style of animadversion, which he has sometimes used, could only be borne out by much knowledge of mankind, skill and force in the methods of address, and acknowledged weight of character. And not a few of his speculations on the aspects of society, and the tendencies of opinions and institutions, are of a sort to be beyond the capacity of any, who, in addition to high mental endowments, had not enjoyed advantages for extended observation upon life. Not all, or great part, of what he has done could be done, or should be attempted, by many ministers of religion, who yet fill their place with credit and dignity. But it must be owned, that a religious congregation is greatly privileged, which may command the fruits of the meditation of a profound and original mind upon practical questions of such high interest, which only such a mind is competent to treat; and Mr. Dewey has made the public his debtor by extending to them the benefit of his reflections in this volume.

Mr. Dewey's earlier works, particularly his previous volume of Sermons, and his account of a tour in Europe, under the title of "The Old World and the New," are so well known to the American reading community, that it would be scarcely worth while, — even had we space for it, which we have not, — to go into any consideration of the excellences and defects of his genius and manner. It would, no doubt, be easy to find fault with some peculiarities. In the Sermons, there is a personal reference, under such forms of expression as "I persuade myself," "I think," "I deny," which is perhaps altogether too frequent to be consistent with good taste; and there is often a cumbrous, careless, and colloquial construction of sentences, which offends the cool reader, however, in the excitement of listening, it might pass unobserved. But it is ill complaining of such

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peccadillos as these, when one sees a full and earnest mind pouring itself out in forms of utterance, which to itself are the most natural and true. Perhaps, even if we could correct them, we ought not to wish it; for it may well be, that a man's habits of thought and of expression shall so belong to each other, that, in altering what does not please us in the latter, we should part with that in the former, which we could hardly consent to lose. At all events, such blemishes, in the writings of Mr. Dewey, are relieved by a fervor and copiousness of thought, and, in the happiest passages, by a glow, beauty, and vigor of expression, which forbid them to impair the reader's satisfaction, to any extent worth considering. The views which he presents, on subjects so various, and singly of such wide relations, it is to be supposed will be found, in different places, more or less striking and weighty. But this is apparent throughout, that he is speaking his own observations and convictions; that he is uttering himself; that, however he may have been indebted to books for excitements and illustrations, he owes to them none of his processes of inquiry, and none of his conclusions. Often his views, while they are novel, are sagacious and satisfactory; his appeals are often strongly exciting. But this charm is never absent from what he writes, that it is evidently fresh from the author's own mind. And, as to style, there is often a grace and gorgeousness, and often a condensed force of diction, which make ample amends for the somewhat characteristic infelicities, to which we have referred.

It would require an ethical treatise to follow Mr. Dewey in a discussion of the questions which he has so ably handled. We are free to say, that the first four discourses, relating to the objects and the rules of trade, are those from which we have derived the least satisfaction. In particular, we do not find the light, which we seek, shed upon the exceedingly critical question of the degree to which one of the parties in a contract of sale may honestly avail himself of the ignorance of the other. The principle, which lies at the basis of a solution of this problem is plain enough; viz. that in a fair contract one party cannot take an advantage which he does not understand that the other party expects him to take, if he can. But, when the conscience of one party is to dictate to him what view is taken by the other of the implied conditions of a bargain, there is of course room for an extremely lati-

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tudinarian construction of this principle. When, endeavouring to arrive at something more definite, Mr. Dewey maintains, that the market price of an article is to be taken for its just price, we fear that his scheme is liable to this objection among others, that, since the market price is itself the result of single bargains, it cannot be made to serve for their rule; and when, premising that "the case of general information and opinion which it is lawful to use," is to "be separated from the case of particular knowledge," he affirms, that a buyer or seller is bound to avow what he *knows*, but not what he *believes*, of the article in which he proposes to traffic, after all the ingenuity and extent of view with which Mr. Dewey has defended his theory, we remain at a loss for some principle by which a difference in the degree of conviction in the trafficker's mind, respecting a material fact, shall make all the difference between a moral right and wrong in concealing that conviction.

Though a fast friend to our political institutions, Mr. Dewey uses no reserve in the castigation of what he conceives to be some of their unfortunate influences. In his "Discourse on the Moral Exposures of American Society," having remarked, that "every man in this country is dependent for his position upon public opinion," he proceeds in the following eloquent strain of expostulation against a demoralizing tendency of this state of things.

"The greatest of all dangers here, as I conceive, is that of general pusillanimity, of moral cowardice, of losing a proper and manly independence of character. I think that I see something of this in our very manners, in the hesitation, the indirectness, the cautious and circuitous modes of speech, the eye asking assent before the tongue can finish its sentence. I think, that, in other countries, you oftener meet with men, who stand manfully and boldly up, and deliver their opinion without asking or caring what you or others think about it. It may, sometimes, be rough and harsh; but, at any rate, it is independent. Observe, too, in how many relations, political, religious, and social, a man is liable to find bondage instead of freedom. If he wants office, he must attach himself to a party, and then his eyes must be sealed in blindness, and his lips in silence, towards all the faults of his party. He *may* have his eyes open, and he may see much to condemn, but he must *say* nothing. If he edits a newspaper, his choice is often between bondage and beggary. That may actually be the choice,

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though he does not know it. He may be so complete a slave, that he does not feel the chain. His passions may be so enlisted in the cause of his party, as to blind his discrimination, and destroy all comprehension and capability of independence. So it may be with the religious partisan. He knows, perhaps, that there are errors in his adopted creed, faults in his sect, fanaticism and extravagance in some of its measures. See if you get him to speak of them. See if you can get him to breathe a whisper of doubt. No, he is always believing. He has a convenient phrase that covers up all difficulties in his creed. He believes it "for *substance* of doctrine." Or, if he is a layman, perhaps he does not believe it at all. What, then, is his conclusion? Why, he has friends who do believe it; and he does not wish to offend them. And so he goes on, listening to what he does not believe; outwardly acquiescing, inwardly remonstrating; the slave of fear or fashion, never daring, not once in his life daring, to speak out and openly the thought that is in him. Nay, he sees men suffering under the weight of public reprobation, for the open espousal of the very opinions *he* holds, and he has never the generosity or manliness to say, '*I* think so too.' Nay, more; by the course he pursues he is made to cast his stone, or he holds it in his hand, at least, and lets another arm apply the force necessary to cast it, at the very men, who are suffering a sort of martyrdom *for his own faith!*

"I am not now advocating any particular opinions. I am only advocating a manly freedom in the expression of those opinions which a man does entertain. And if those opinions are unpopular, I hold, that, in this country, there is so much the more need of an open and independent expression of them. Look at the case most seriously, I beseech you. What is ever to correct the faults of society, if nobody lifts his voice against them; if everybody goes on openly doing what everybody privately complains of; if all shrink behind the faint-hearted apology, that it would be over-bold in them to attempt any reform? What is to rebuke political time-serving, religious fanaticism, or social folly, if no one has the independence to protest against them? Look at it in a larger view. What barrier is there against the universal despotism of public opinion in this country, but individual freedom? Who is to stand up against it here, but the possessor of that lofty independence? There is no king, no sultan, no noble, no privileged class; nobody else, to stand against it. If you yield this point, if you are for ever making compromises, if all men do this, if the entire policy of private life here, is to escape opposition and reproach, every thing will be swept beneath

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the popular wave. There will be no individuality, no hardihood, no high and stern resolve, no self-subsistence, no fearless dignity, no glorious manhood of mind, left among us. The holy heritage of our fathers' virtues will be trodden under foot by their unworthy children. *They* feared not to stand up against kings and nobles, and parliament and people. Better did they account it, that their lonely bark should sweep the wide sea in freedom, — happier were they, when their sail swelled to the storm of winter, than to be slaves in palaces of ease. Sweeter to their ear was the music of the gale, that shrieked in their broken cordage, than the voice at home that said, "Submit, and you shall have rest." And, when they reached this wild shore, and built their altar, and knelt upon the frozen snow and the flinty rock to worship, they built that altar to freedom, to individual freedom, to freedom of conscience and opinion; and their noble prayer was, that their children might be thus free. Let their sons remember the prayer of their extremity, and the great bequest which their magnanimity has left us. Let them beware how they become entangled again in the yoke of bondage. Let the ministers at God's altar, let the guardians of the press, let all sober and thinking men, speak the thought that is in them. It is better to speak honest *error* than to suppress conscious truth. Smothered error is more dangerous than that which flames and burns out. But do I speak of danger? I know of but one thing safe in the universe, and that is truth. And I know of but one way to truth for an individual mind, and that is, unfettered thought. And I know but one path for the multitude to truth, and that is, thought, freely expressed. Make of truth itself an altar of slavery, and guard it about with a mysterious shrine; bind thought as a victim upon it; and let the passions of the prejudiced multitude minister fuel; and you sacrifice upon that accursed altar the hopes of the world!"—pp. 164 – 167.

Mr. Dewey is a discriminating republican.

"I maintain, that our democratic principle is not that the people are always right. It is this rather; that, although the people may sometimes be wrong, yet that they are not so likely to be wrong and to do wrong, as irresponsible, hereditary magistrates and legislators; that it is safer to trust the many with the keeping of their own interests, than it is to trust the few to keep those interests for them. The people are *not* always right; they are often wrong. They must be so, from the very magnitude, difficulty, and complication of the questions that are submitted to them. I am amazed, that thinking men, conver-

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sant with these questions, should address such gross flattery and monstrous absurdity to the people, as to be constantly telling them, that *they* will put all these questions right at the ballot-box. And I am no less amazed, that a sensible people should suffer such folly to be spoken to them. Is it possible that the people believe it? Is it possible that the majority itself of any people can be so infatuated as to hold, that, in virtue of its being a majority, it is always right? Alas! for truth, if it is to depend on votes! *Has* the majority always been right in religion or in philosophy? But the science of politics involves questions no less intricate and difficult. And on these questions, there are grave and solemn decisions to be made by the people; great State problems are submitted to them; such, for instance, as concerning internal improvements, the tariff, the currency, banking, and the nicest points of construction; which cost even the wisest men much study; and what the people require, for the solution of these questions, is *not* rash haste, boastful confidence, furious anger, and mad strife, but sobriety, calmness, modesty, — qualities, indeed, that would go far to abate the violence of our parties, and to hush the brawls of our elections. I do not deny, that questions of deep national concern may justly awaken great zeal and earnestness; but I do deny, that the public mind should be bolstered up with the pride of supposing itself to possess any complete, much less, any suddenly acquired knowledge of them. I am willing to take my fellow-citizens for my governors, with all their errors; I prefer their will, legally signified, to any other government; but to say or imply, that they do not err, and often err, is a doctrine alike preposterous in general theory, and pernicious in its effects upon themselves." — pp. 282 – 284.

But if his attachment to popular institutions is discriminating, it is not the less ardent and true.

"I should not exhaust the subject, even in this most general view of it, if I did not add one further consideration in behalf of freedom; a consideration that is higher and stronger than any reason; I mean the *intrinsic desirableness* of this condition to every human being. In this respect, freedom is like virtue, like happiness; we value it for its own sake. God has stamped upon our very humanity this impress of freedom. It is the unchartered prerogative of human nature. A soul ceases to be a soul, in proportion as it ceases to be free. Strip it of this, and you strip it of one of its essential and characteristic attributes. It is this, that draws the footsteps of the wild Indian to his wide and boundless desert-paths, and makes him

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prefer them to the gay saloons and soft carpets of sumptuous palaces. It is this that makes it so difficult to bring him within the pale of artificial civilization. Our roving tribes are perishing, — a sad and solemn sacrifice upon the altar of their wild freedom. They come among us, and look with childish wonder upon the perfection of our arts, and the splendor of our habitations ; they submit with ennui and weariness, for a few days, to our burdensome forms and restraints ; and then turn their faces to their forest homes, and resolve to push those homes onward till they sink in the Pacific waves, rather than not be free.

" It is thus that every people is attached to its country, just in proportion as it is free. No matter if that country be in the rocky fastnesses of Switzerland, amidst the snows of Tartary, or on the most barren and lonely island shore ; no matter if that country be so poor, as to force away its children to other and richer lands, for employment and sustenance ; yet, when the songs of those free homes chance to fall upon the exile's ear, no soft and ravishing airs that wait upon the timid feastings of Asiatic opulence, ever thrilled the heart with such mingled rapture and agony, as those simple tones. Sad mementoes might they be of poverty and want, and toil ; yet it was enough that they were mementoes of happy freedom. And more than once has it been necessary to forbid by military orders, in the armies of the Swiss mercenaries, the singing of their native songs.

" And such an attachment, do I believe, is found in our own people, to their native country. It is the country of the free ; and that single consideration compensates for the want of many advantages, which other countries possess over us. And glad am I, that it opens wide its hospitable gates to many a noble but persecuted citizen, from the dungeons of Austria and Italy, and the imprisoning castles and citadels of Poland. Here may they find rest, as they surely find sympathy, though it is saddened with many bitter remembrances !

" Yes, let me be free ; let me go and come at my own will; let me do business and make journeys, without a vexatious police or insolent soldiery to watch my steps ; let me think, and do, and speak, what I please, subject to no limit but that which is set by the common weal ; subject to no law but that which conscience binds upon me ; and I will bless my country, and love its most rugged rocks and its most barren soil.

" I have seen my countrymen, and have been with them a fellow wanderer, in other lands ; and little did I see or feel to warrant the apprehension, sometimes expressed, that foreign travel would weaken our patriotic attachments. One sigh for

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home, — home, arose from all hearts. And why, from palaces and courts, — why, from galleries of the arts, where the marble softens into life, and painting sheds an almost living presence of beauty around it, — why, from the mountain's awful brow, and the lovely valleys and lakes touched with the sunset hues of old romance, — why, from those venerable and touching ruins to which our very heart grows, — why, from all these scenes, were they looking beyond the swellings of the Atlantic wave, to a dearer and holier spot of earth, — their own, own country ? Doubtless, it was in part, because it *is* their country. But it was also, as every one's experience will testify, because they knew that *there* was no oppression, no pitiful exaction of petty tyranny ; because that *there*, they knew, was no accredited and irresistible religious domination ; because that *there* they knew, they should not meet the odious soldier at every corner, nor swarms of imploring beggars, the victims of misrule ; that *there* no curse causeless did fall, and no blight, worse than plague and pestilence, did descend amidst the pure dews of heaven ; because, in fine, that *there*, they knew, was liberty, — upon all the green hills, and amidst all the peaceful valleys, — liberty, the wall of fire around the humblest home ; the crown of glory, studded with her ever blazing stars, upon the proudest mansion !

"My friends, upon our own homes that blessing rests, that guardian care and glorious crown ; and, when we return to those homes, and so long as we dwell in them, — so long as no oppressor's foot invades their thresholds, let us bless them, and hallow them as the homes of freedom ! Let us make them, too, the homes of a nobler freedom, — of freedom from vice, from evil, from passion, — from every corrupting bondage of the soul." — pp. 297 – 300.

Mr. Dewey writes in New York, a centre of commercial, social, and political operations, which affords him the best opportunities for observations relating to the subjects which he treats. We mention the fact, because there is no indication of it on the face of the work, since the imprint and notice of the copy-right might have been what they are, though it had been produced in some village of the interior. It is not the first time that we have had occasion to wish, that writers would observe the homely old fashion of giving some brief account of themselves on their title-page. In the case of authors so well known to fame as Mr. Dewey, the omission may produce little inconvenience. But others of less consideration will of course use their method ; and

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we receive not a few books with the naked name of the writer prefixed, when that name is of so little notoriety, that, for any use which it serves to the distant reader, the publication might just as well have been anonymous.

ART. IX. — *A Historical Discourse, delivered by Request, before the Citizens of New Haven, April 25th,* 1838, *the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the First Settlement of the Town and Colony.* By JAMES L. KINGSLEY. New Haven: B. & W. Noyes. 8vo. pp. 115.

NOTWITHSTANDING the degree of attention, which, of late years, has been given to the details of American History, no adequate estimate has yet been formed of the importance of the subject. It is known and felt, that the men and the events of our early annals are worthy of our notice and study; but the share which they bore in determining and promoting the political and social progress of the world is not yet appreciated.

Philosophers, in all times, have attempted to resolve the forms and institutions of society into their original elements, and to trace the powers of government back into a social compact entered into by the fathers of the race, as they passed from a state of individual independence into a political organization of mutual subjection. But, as the infancy of the world is shrouded in impenetrable darkness, and no records or express indications of such primitive compacts can be found, it has not been possible to give to the speculations, founded upon the supposition of such early agreements, any firm and substantial basis. Resting, as they do, upon shadows, a breath has ever been sufficient to blow them down.

Such was the irremediable defect of all scientific political disquisitions previous to the colonization of America. The sources of reasoning on the subject were enveloped in absolute uncertainty, and the fundamental principles of the powers of government and the rights of the governed, howsoever put forth and maintained, could claim no better character than of fanciful conjecture and imaginary probability.

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America was reserved to be the theatre on which, in the broad view of the civilized world and in an advanced and enlightened age, the entire process of the formation of civil society and political institutions, out of a state of purely natural independence, might be distinctly exhibited. The political forms and customs of this country can be followed back, by unquestionable and recent historical records, to their origin, and can be shown to have sprung from precisely such voluntary compacts and deliberate concessions on the part of the communities governed by them, as liberal reasoners have always affirmed to be the true sources of political power. And, as if for the very purpose of rendering the example, thus, for the first time, here presented of the formation of the social structure, as complete and instructive as possible, it was ordered by Providence that the experiment should take place in every conceivable variety of form, and method of procedure, in the different sections of the North American coast where settlements were established.

The Pilgrim passengers of the *May Flower*, before they left their weary and storm-worn vessel, gathering themselves on her deck, in a state more destitute of fixed political relations than can be imagined of the earliest infancy of mankind, floating on the ocean, outcasts from the Old World and not yet assured of a landing in the New,—disconnected, as it were, from the earth itself, without a home on its surface, not able to call an acre of its soil their own,—in this more than primitive condition of unorganized social existence, deliberately conferred together respecting the grounds on which to become associated as a community, and agreed upon their original compact; and when they stepped upon the Rock of Plymouth, the great republican principle, that the will of the people is the rule of government, began its operation on the earth.

When Winthrop and the other associated founders of Massachusetts determined, and after a strenuous struggle succeeded in the effort, to bring their charter over with them, then the doctrine of independence of foreign dominion was really established and permanently secured. When the pious and enlightened founders of the settlement at Salem assembled to erect the institutions of religion, they met together in what has been understood as the state of nature, by those who have written and argued on this subject; they recog-

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nised no privileges or rights, on the part of any of their company, in consequence of offices they might have borne, or relations they might have held, in the church establishments of the part of the world from which they came. In the exercise of their original and natural equal rights, they agreed upon such articles and forms as they thought proper, and thus started into action the great principle of the absolute independence of particular churches and congregations, of all other bodies of men, both ecclesiastical and political.

So too, wherever the emigrants from the Old World planted themselves in the New, feeling their substantial independence of foreign power, regarding the Atlantic as literally a wall of separation from all existing established forms and fashions and customs, they went to work, in the exercise of their own free choice, and by the use of their own wisdom and judgment, to contrive and originate their social and political institutions; and the American student, who wishes to explore the formation, and compare the operations and results, of any of the practices or principles, which enter into the fabric of our society and government, will find them all clearly delineated in the various communities, which have sprung from the different European settlements on the American continent. The materials, which are already provided for illustration and instruction to this end, are eminently satisfactory and abundant, and will be found of more and more value as the progress of knowledge and civilization renders the world more sensible of the importance of sound and just and liberal political institutions.

These remarks have been drawn from us by the interesting and valuable Discourse whose title is at the head of this paper. Among the numerous productions of its class, there are few which bring forward a larger amount of information and useful suggestion for the philosophical historian and scientific politician. Professor Kingsley was well selected to prepare and present the contribution, which the ancient Colony of New Haven supplies to the fund of our national historical literature, and he has well discharged his office.

All who take pleasure in contemplating the elements of beauty, virtue, patriotism, science, and learning, find themselves readily and spontaneously attracted by the name of New Haven. Itself one of the most delightful spots in America, in its natural and cultivated aspect, it is adorned and

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dignified by as many cherished associations as can often be gathered around any one scene. It is the seat of a collegiate establishment, which in some respects is generally acknowledged to take the lead of all the institutions of the sort with which our country is blessed, numbering among its present instructers names identified with science and learning, and showing, on the list of its presidents, a Dwight and a Stiles. New Haven is memorable as the residence of Hillhouse, Sherman, Whitney, Whiting, and Wooster, within the last century; and Professor Kingsley has carried us back to the beginning, and made us feel acquainted with Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Edward Hopkins, and the other wise and good men, who there laid the foundations of learning, religion, and liberty.

Immediately after the fathers of New Haven had obtained titles to their lands, and had built houses to shelter themselves from the approaching winter, and thrown up fortifications to keep off the savages, they proceeded to form their social compact and organize their political institutions. For this purpose they met in a "new barn, built by Mr. Newman, one of the principal colonists." They acted, as the other founders of New England colonies had done, without reference to the mother country, or any authority but that of their own reason and consciences. The ground they took was, "that the Scriptures do hold forth a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men, in all duties, which they are to perform to God and men, as well in families and commonwealth, as in matters of the church." They then ordained, that none but church members should exercise the right of voting, or be capable of holding public office. Professor Kingsley discusses this peculiarity of the early New England institutions with great candor, fairness, and intelligence.

In order to take a just view of this subject, the scheme or plan on which those institutions were projected must not be overlooked. The first settlers of New England, having exiled themselves from Christendom, intended to keep heretics and scoffers from following them into the American wilderness, and were sanguine in the belief, that, by means of the system of education they had determined to apply, they would be able to rear their children and descendants in so thorough a knowledge, and complete a reception, of their own faith and

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principles, that they would become, as a matter of course, members of the church. In that event, there would have been no exclusiveness in the operation and effect of the qualification they adopted, as the test of fitness for the exercise of political rights. But this was more than any system of education could be made to accomplish. Time has shown how delusive were their expectations in this particular.

There is one point in the experience of the infant colony of New Haven, of great value in political science. Instead of having a fixed body of laws, they submitted all questions and causes, as they rose, to their best men, to be determined by them, without the intervention of a jury, or any technical observances, in accordance with what they deemed equity and justice in each particular case. In no circumstances could this experiment have been more favorably attempted. Such was the character of the judges, that as much reliance could be placed upon their integrity and Christian wisdom, as can ever be placed in any body of magistrates that may be found. But in a few years it became necessary to frame a system of fixed and authoritative laws, and to bring the New Haven courts into a conformity with the practice of the other colonies.

Professor Kingsley has found, what, perhaps, will surprise some, that the popular notion of the existence in Connecticut of a code of sumptuary legislation, commonly spoken of as the Blue Laws, is utterly without foundation. There never was such a code of laws in the colony, either printed or unprinted. So far as the belief to this effect did not originate in a spirit of malice or sarcasm, on the part of those who wished to vilify or ridicule the good people of New Haven, it may, in part, be accounted for by supposing, that some of the particular decisions of the judges, in the infancy of the colony, when, from the nature of the code, questions of a more private and minute and domestic nature than could be entertained in the tribunals of an advanced and numerous population, came before them, were mistaken for standing laws, enacted by legislative authority.

On this, as on other points, Professor Kingsley writes with the enthusiastic zeal of one who is justly sensible of the honor due to a worthy and excellent community, and with the talent and eloquence to be expected of him.

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Art. X. — CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. — *Historical Sketches of the Old Painters.* By the Author of "Three Experiments of Living." Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1838. 16mo. pp. 296.

In the course of our critical labors, it has rarely been our lot to meet with a more agreeable volume than the present. A work on artists could not be more appropriately dedicated, than to Washington Allston; — a man whom future generations will rank in the same order of genius with the great Italian masters; whose residence will throw a poetic interest, even over the dull scenes of Cambridgeport, for the lovers of art, in all coming time.

The little book contains sketches of the lives of painters, beginning with Apelles and Protogenes, and ending with Claude Gelée, commonly known as Claude Lorraine. They are written in a most genial spirit, and with a delicate appreciation of the several peculiarities of genius in the artists commemorated. Fact and fiction are blended with much taste and skill; and the stories are all told in a style remarkable at once for simplicity, beauty, and grace. A cultivated literary taste, and a ready perception of the refining and exalting beauties of art, are manifested on every page. Such books cannot be too cordially welcomed among us. The riches of intellectual attainment, and the graces of accomplishment in the fine arts, ought to exercise through the press a greater influence over the yet forming character of the national mind. We have among us capacity enough, knowledge enough, and taste enough; but capacity, knowledge, and taste, are too exclusively confined to the circles of private society, which they enrich and adorn; while they only contribute, indirectly, to the formation of a just taste in the public.

The little poems, scattered through this volume, are marked by great delicacy of expression and harmony of numbers.

We take the following passage from the sketch of Raphael.

"It was necessary for him to reside at his native place for a number of months. During that time, he painted several fine pictures. His heart, however, yearned for Florence, and he returned to it once more with the determination of making it his home. With far different sensations did he a second time enter the city of beauty. The freshness of his gayety was blighted; lessons of earthly disappointment were ever present to his mind, and he returned to it with the resolute purpose of devoting himself to serious occupation.

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"How well he fulfilled this resolution all Italy can bear witness. From this time he adopted what has been called his *second manner*. He painted for the Duke of Urbino the beautiful picture of the Saviour at sunrise, with the morning light cast over a face resplendent with divinity; the flowers glittering with dew, the two disciples beyond, still buried in slumber, at the time when the Saviour turns his eyes upon them with that tender and sorrowful exclamation, — 'Could ye not watch one hour?'

"Raphael enriched the city of Florence with his works. When asked what had suggested some of the beautiful combinations of his paintings, he said, 'They came to me in my sleep.' At other times, he called them '*visions*'; and then again said, they were the result of 'una certa idea che mi viene alla mente.' It was this power of drawing from the deep wells of his own mind, that gave such character, originality, and freshness to his works. He found that power *within*, which so many seek, and seek in vain, *without*.

"At the age of twenty-five, Raphael was summoned by the Pope to paint the chambers of the Vatican. The famous frescos of the Vatican need neither enumeration nor description; the world is their judge and their eulogist.

"No artist ever consecrated his works more by his affections than Raphael. The same hallowed influence of the heart gave an inexpressible charm to Coreggio's, afterwards. One of Raphael's friends said to him, on looking upon particular figures in his groups, 'You have transmitted to posterity your own likeness.'

"'See you nothing beyond that?' replied the artist.

"'I see,' said the critic, 'the deep blue eye, and the long fair hair parted on the forehead.'

"'Observe,' said Raphael, 'the feminine softness of expression, the beautiful harmony of thought and feeling. When I take my pencil for high and noble purposes, the spirit of my mother hovers over me. It is her countenance, not my own, of which you trace the resemblance.'

"This expression is always observable in his Madonnas. His portraits of the *Fornarina* are widely different. Raphael, in his last and most excellent style, united what was graceful and exquisite in Lionardo, with the sublime and noble manner of Michelangelo. It is the privilege and glory of genius to appropriate to itself whatever is noble and true. The region of thought is thus made a common ground for all, and one master mind becomes a reservoir for the present and future times.

"When Raphael was invited to Rome by Pope Julius the Second, Michelangelo was at the height of his glory; his character tended to inspire awe rather than affection; he delighted in the majestic and the terrible. In boldness of conception and grandeur of design, he surpassed Lionardo, but never could reach the sweetness and gentleness of his figures. Even his children lose something of their infantine beauty, and look mature; his women are commanding and lofty; his men of gigantic proportions. His painting, like his sculpture, is remarkable for anatomical exactness, and perfect expression of the muscles. For this union of magnificence and sublimity, it was necessary to prepare the mind; the first view was almost terrific, and it was

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by degrees that his mighty works produced their designed effect. Raphael, while he felt all the greatness of the Florentine, conceived that there might be something more like nature, — something that should be harmonious, sweet, and flowing, — that should convey the idea of intellectual rather than of external majesty. Without yielding any of the correctness of science, he avoided harshness, and imitated antiquity in uniting grace and elegance with a strict observation of science and of the rules of art.

"It was with surprise that Michelangelo beheld in the youthful Raphael a rival artist; nor did he receive this truth meekly; he treated him with coldness and distance. In the mean time Raphael went on with his works; he completed the frescos of the Vatican,* and designed the cartoons.† He also produced those exquisite paintings in oil which seem the perfection of human art.

"Human affection is necessary to awaken the sympathy of human beings; and Raphael, in learning how to portray it, had found the way to the heart. In mere grandeur of invention he was surpassed by Michelangelo. Titian excelled him in coloring, and Coreggio in the beautiful gradation of tone; but Raphael knew how to paint the soul; in this he stood alone. This was the great secret of a power which seemed to operate like magic. In his paintings there is something which makes music on the chords of every heart; for they are the expression of a mind attuned to nature, and find answering sympathies in the universal soul.

"While Michelangelo was exalted with the epic grandeur of his own Dante, Raphael presented the most finished scenes of dramatic life, and might be compared to the immortal Shakspeare, — scenes of spiritual beauty, of devotion, and of pastoral simplicity, yet uniting a classic elegance which the poet does not possess. Buonarotti was the wonder of Italy, and Raphael became its idol." — pp. 132–137.

In the notice of Apelles and Protogenes, we find the following; "'How does it (Rhodes) compare with thy native Cos?' said Protogenes, as they walked, arm and arm, back to his dwelling," &c. Will the author excuse us if we doubt whether this is exactly in keeping? Did antique gentlemen walk *arm in arm*, like the moderns? or is that convenient and sociable, but not very picturesque fashion, an invention of later ages? We observe, in the account of the Caracci school, the expression, "he was compelled to leave, and went to Rome." This use of the verb "to leave," though not uncommon in this

"* These are the celebrated works which have been so much visited, admired, and imitated for more than three centuries. They are tolerably preserved; but are said to have been much injured by the fires of the German soldiers, who used these rooms as their barracks, in the sack of Rome by Charles the Fifth's generals, soon after Raphael's death.

"† Where Raphael's cartoons are spoken of, certain paintings on paper are meant, which he executed as patterns for tapestry, to be used in the Procession of Corpus Domini at Rome. It is believed that they were carried into England from the Low Countries, where they were sent to be executed in tapestry. The tapestries are annually exhibited at Rome.

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country, is incorrect, and unauthorized by good usage. It should be "to leave the city."

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2. — *Homeward Bound, or the Chase. A Tale of the Sea.* By the Author of "The Pilot," "The Spy," &c. In Two Volumes. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 12mo.

The recent productions of Mr. Cooper have added nothing to his own reputation, or to the stores of American literature. He has set up for a master of the elegances of life, and has discoursed learnedly, through volume after volume, upon the arbitrary refinements of fashionable society. Professing to be a sturdy republican, he has exhausted his powers of invective upon the manners and characters of his countrymen, who are, taking his own descriptions for truth, ignorant of the first principles of social refinement, and no better than a nation of brutes and savages. If such are the friends of Republicanism, she may well pray Heaven to save her from them. Mr. Cooper's works, for the last three or four years, seem to have been written under no higher inspiration than that of spleen. They abound in uncalled-for political disquisitions, filled up with expressions of the bitterest scorn and hatred. They are deformed by perpetual outbreaks of a spirit, which might be expected to show itself in the pages of a ruthless partisan, careless of truth in aiming at the reputation of an opponent whom he wishes to ruin; but from which the writings of the poet and the man of letters, sitting apart, "in the still air of delightful studies," ought to be wholly exempt. He has added nothing to the range of characters in fiction, which amuse and occupy our hours of leisure, and to which the mind returns, as to old familiar scenes, or the faces of friends; he has told no new tale of human passions, for our instruction or warning; but he has given us, both in his books of travels, and his last novel, a few brilliant descriptions of natural scenery, both by land and sea.

"Homeward Bound" is a sort of log-book of a passage from London to New York. We are entertained *ad nauseam*, — until we are absolutely sea-sick, — with the rocking of the packet-ship Montauk, in fair weather and foul. These scenes, wearisome by repetition and prolongation, are diversified but not relieved, by the doings and sayings of a set of passengers, the like of whom, for stupidity and absurdity, could scarcely be gathered together, from the whole circuit of the British dominions and the United States. A couple of more tiresome gen-

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tlemen than the two Effinghams, the pet characters in the passengers' cabin, it has never been our lot to meet, either in fact or fiction; and the heroine, Miss Eve Effingham, is a special nonentity. The newspaper editor, Mr. Stedfast Dodge, is plainly designed for a cruelly severe satire upon the editorial corps in the United States. But the character of this worthy is drawn in such exaggerated colors, that it shows the unskilfulness and ill-feeling of the author, but by no means the real faults and follies, — many and serious enough, — of the persons against whom the satire is aimed. The fact is, Mr. Cooper has no facility in drawing characters. With two or three exceptions, his personages are mere wooden images, with no semblance of life. Their conversation would be intolerable, or rather impossible, between men and women of flesh and blood; their actions would be inconceivable, out of the pages of a romance. People never talk as Mr. Cooper imagines. There are far fewer blockheads, male or female, in the real world, than in that possessed by Mr. Cooper's imagination.

This novel has almost no plot. The characters, such as they are, figure in a few dull dialogues; and there are a few faint indications of an incipient love story, which is probably to be unfolded in the next work. As it stands now, there is no completeness, no conclusion, no plan, to be found in the book. Nothing redeems it from utter and deplorable dulness, save a few descriptive passages, and two or three animated actions. The battle with the Arabs, on the African coast, is the best of the latter; and the storm which precedes it, is the most brilliant of the former.

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3. — 1. *The Lady's Annual Register and Housewife's Memorandum Book, for* 1838. By Caroline Gilman. Boston: T. H. Carter. 12mo. pp. 140.
   2. *Recollections of a Southern Matron*, by Caroline Gilman, Author of "Recollections of a New England House-Keeper." New York: Harper and Brothers.
   3. *The Poetry of Travelling in the United States.* By Caroline Gilman, with additional Sketches, by a few Friends, and a "Week among Autographs," by the Rev. S. Gilman. New York: S. Colman. 12mo. pp. 430.

The title-page of the first-named of these works, is an index to its contents. It is a manual for the use of housekeepers, containing pertinent hints and instructions in the various departments of housekeeping, including a garden Calendar for

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Northern and Southern latitudes, and good advice on the subject of economy and domestic thrift. A proper proportion of the *dulce* is mingled with the *utile*, in the shape of stories, anecdotes, and poems, many of which are original. Much of the original matter is very good, and the poems are generally graceful and pleasing. We think it would have been better, if the anecdotes had been omitted entirely, as the greater part of them are old, and many of them not in perfectly good taste. We were somewhat surprised to observe the vulgarism of "learn," for "teach," on page 51. The paper, print, and engravings are all good, and the work deserves success, and we hope will obtain it.

Viewed simply as a work of art, the "Recollections of a Southern Matron" cannot claim much commendation. It does not pretend to have any regular plot, with a beginning, a middle, and an end, but is merely a sort of family journal, in which the events stand to each other in no other relation, than that of sequence or succession. The style is often careless, and generally very diffuse; the sentimentality is occasionally excessive, and the fine writing sometimes degenerates into superfine. In spite of these defects, however, there is a good deal to praise in the book. It has the merit of being an original sketch of American life, and not a tame copy of a transatlantic model, and it is written with considerable freshness and spirit. There is a truth and naturalness about many of its pictures, which make up most amply for slight defects in drawing and coloring. Many of the incidents are told exceedingly well, and with a vein of quiet and graceful humor, which is very pleasing. The chapter describing the difficulties encountered by a Southern matron in teaching her children, already well known by its having been appended to Miss Martineau's "Society in America," is one of the most capital things we ever read; and there are many others in the same style, nearly as good. The moral and religious tone of the work is of a high order, and it has that charm, which flows from the constant manifestation of an amiable temper and an affectionate disposition. It has the staple of literary excellence, and wants only more of artistical skill in the finish and execution.

The character of Mr. Bates, the Yankee schoolmaster, strikes us as a decided failure,—a broad caricature, which has not even the merit of novelty. Does our fair author imagine, that a letter of ten printed pages was ever written by anybody, in which every period contains some Yankee vulgarism? It is as great an absurdity as a plum pudding would be, that was made wholly of plums. Jack Downing understands this thing better.

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It gives us great pleasure to speak more favorably of Mrs. Gilman's last published work. "The Poetry of Travelling" is made up of sketches, touched with a light and graceful pencil. It is written in a highly descriptive style, and diversified by a great variety of interesting scenes. The fine points in the picturesque parts of the country, which were included in our author's travels, have been viewed with a poet's eye, and are brought out with an artist's hand. The language is neat, expressive, and simple, flowing with a natural ease and propriety. The first half of the volume is made up of "Notes of a Northern Excursion," and contains descriptions of the principal places, in the Northern States, remarkable either for picturesque beauty or historical renown. Reminiscences of the past are mingled pleasantly with delineations of the present, and the parts are connected, by a thread of individual adventure, enough to give them the interest of a personal journal. Not a little is added to the attractiveness of the book by several very agreeable little pieces of poetry, suggested by the associations of the scenes, in the midst of which they were composed. The local sketches of the South are drawn with as much skill as those of the North, and will be more interesting, on account of their novelty, at least to Northern readers. Mrs. Gilman's writings are finely adapted to the promotion of social intercourse and kindly feelings between the different parts of the United States. No one understands better than she, the excellent qualities of the Southern character, — its warm and generous feelings, and its open-handed hospitality, — and the peculiar beauties of Southern scenery; and no one can hold them up to the love and admiration of the North in more attractive colors. To this end, her literary labors seem to have been specially directed; an end as laudable as the means she has often taken are delicate and tasteful.

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4. — *Joanna of Naples.* By the Author of "Miriam." Boston: Hilliard, Gray, & Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 213.

The author of this little volume is already well known to the literary public by her much applauded tragedy of "Miriam." That work has been reviewed at length in the pages of this Journal.* "Joanna of Naples" is founded on the historical events in the life of that unhappy queen; a life signalized by the greatest misfortunes, and, in the opinion of some, stained

* Vol. XLV. pp. 312 et seqq.

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by the most atrocious crimes. The question of her guilt or innocence is one of those historical problems, which human ingenuity is unable to solve in a manner to set doubts and inquiries at rest. The author of this little tale, obeying her sympathies as a woman, and her taste as an artist, has happily chosen the favorable view of her heroine's character. Giving this color to her narrative, which is as likely to be the truth as the opposite, the author has combined the scattered facts, recorded in history, and woven them in with a train of fictitious incidents, harmonizing with their general character, thus producing a story of uncommon beauty and interest. It is perhaps hardly fair to compare two works, so different in object and spirit as "Miriam" and "Joanna"; but we cannot help giving the preference to the latter, in respect both to strength of conception, and finish of execution. Its style is marked by a sustained dignity and power, in admirable keeping with the elevation of the subject. It is polished to a very high degree of literary completeness; and, though showing abundant signs of the presence of a brilliant poetical imagination, able to pour out a profusion of splendid images, yet is tempered down, by the restraining influence of a thoroughly cultivated taste, to a chastened tone, which will please the reader more during a second perusal, than at first. The character of Joanna is finely and firmly drawn, according to the author's conception of it. The tenderness of the woman, the dignity of the queen, and the heroic patience of the martyr, are truly, feelingly, and most skilfully blended in this noble delineation; and this character is sustained with perfect consistency through all the vicissitudes of the story. Charles of Durazzo is not so successfully handled. The qualities of this character are beyond the scope of a woman's experience; she can know them only at second hand; she has no intuitive knowledge of them from the sympathies of her own heart; and she cannot, therefore, represent them with the force of life and reality. This character is not drawn with an unwavering hand. We feel that the author has not fully mastered the elements of which it is composed. We plainly see the faltering and uncertainty of her mind, and the perplexity of her imagination.

We hope the author of this book will employ her rare powers of invention, and her admirable command over all the resources of language, in making further contributions to the literature of the country, and thus adding to the high reputation she has already gained.

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5.—1. *Annual Address delivered before the Albany Institute*, April, 1838, by James Ferguson. Albany: Alfred Southwick. 8vo. pp. 34.

2. *An Address, delivered before the Penobscot Association of Teachers, and Friends of Popular Education, at Levant, December 28th*, 1837. By E. G. Carpenter. Bangor: S. S. Smith: 8vo. pp. 26.

3. *An Address on the Utility of Astronomy, delivered before the Young Men's Society, of Lynchburg, September 26th*, 1837. By Professor Landon C. Garland, of Randolph-Macon College. Richmond: T. W. White. 8vo. pp. 8.

Mr. Ferguson's discourse is chiefly devoted to a history of literary and scientific associations. He begins by stating the causes, which led to their establishment in the fifteenth century, and then proceeds to an historical sketch of several of the most celebrated national academies, such as the National Institute of France, and the Royal Society of England. He next details some of the objections to the established courses of universities, and quotes the severe comments of Bacon, Smith, Playfair, and Babbage. The concluding part of the Address discusses the effects of these societies upon the progress of science, and the material prosperity of nations, presenting on these topics a variety of interesting and striking views. The Address is written in a simple, correct, and unpretending style, and the matter is highly appropriate to the occasion on which it was delivered.

Mr. Carpenter's Address is on Popular Education, and the claims of our common schools. Bating a little high-flown language about liberty, knowledge, and so forth, and a few touches, towards the peroration, of exaggerated enthusiasm concerning the sacred office of the teacher and his immense responsibilities, the discourse is a very good one; and the views expressed in it, though by no means novel, are sound and manly. The last part of the Address is given to a statement of the powers and qualifications necessary to an efficient teacher. Some of them, surely, it was unnecessary to say any thing about. It seems like uttering uncalled-for truisms to declare gravely, that a good teacher "should be versed in the common branches of an English education," that "he should have a capacity for imparting instruction," that "he should know how to govern a school," that "he should tell the truth," and "that he should be a man of high moral character." These things are insisted on with infinite earnestness and convincing eloquence. Possibly this tone may be neces-

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sary. Recent investigations have shown up the common-school system in a light not altogether so favorable as could be wished, and seem to indicate a very prevalent agreement with Dogberry's opinion, that reading and writing come by nature.

Professor Garland's Address on Astronomy is written with very great ability, and contains matter of high and permanent value. It is a popular exposition of the Utility of Astronomy in the practical concerns of life, and is worthy of all praise for clearness of statement and chaste beauty of style. It shows, on every page, the accurate attainments of the man of science, and the well-tempered enthusiasm of the scholar. We have rarely read a popular address, with which we have been so well pleased, both in respect to instruction and the gratification of taste, as with this.

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6. — *Manual of Political Ethics, designed chiefly for the Use of Colleges and Students at Law. Part I. Book I. Ethics, General and Political. Book II. The State.* By Francis Lieber. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 1838. 8vo. pp. 443.

The title of this book authorizes us to hope, that it will supply a want which has been painfully felt in colleges and professional schools. We have had no treatise on the science of politics at all adapted to the progress of inquiry and information, or to the state of civil and political institutions at the present day. Scraps might be gathered from Montesquieu, Locke, and Hume, and from the writers on natural law and civil polity; but it was difficult to fuse these into a connected system, or to collect from them any answer to most interesting questions, which may be said to have grown out of the historical events of our own times. Practice has outrun theory, but has not superseded the necessity of it. Perhaps the necessity is even increased; for, when men are once beyond the bounds of these much abused speculative principles, they are apt to catch fire, as it were, from license, and forget that abstract truths of limitation and restraint exist at all, or have any basis but individual opinion. They need to be reminded, that, though moral right forms the sure foundation of political privileges, it also circumscribes and hems them in, and that they cannot overleap the barriers without throwing discredit on the first principles of civil freedom. To consider political science, therefore, in its ethical relations, to show that the

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immunities and the duties of a citizen rest alike on the laws of conscience, and that all questions respecting their extent must be settled by an appeal to this moral code, is a task for the highest abilities and the utmost strength of moral character, but which the state of the times loudly requires to be performed. The work must be executed, moreover, in the spirit and with the views, — not of a mere statesman, seeking to justify on abstract grounds a course first marked out by considerations of political expediency, — nor of a mere lawyer, endeavouring to reconcile his regard for precedents and positive institutions with a reverence for lasting truth and justice, — but of a rigid and philosophical moralist, not unacquainted with the magnitude and importance of the interests which he undertakes to discuss, but unflinching in his resolve to direct them by his own convictions of right.

From a very hurried survey of Dr. Lieber's work, — all that could be afforded to it, from the lateness of the publication, — we are not prepared to say how far he has answered the expectations excited by the title. But from his ceaseless activity as a literary man, his high reputation, and the known bent of his studies, for some time, to subjects kindred with general politics, we cannot doubt, that his book will fully answer the end proposed. The present publication, though it is called Part First, and will be followed by another volume, yet forms a whole by itself. It is divided into two books, of which the one treats of "Ethics, General and Political," and the other, entitled, "The State," is occupied with a discussion of the fundamental questions pertaining to civil government. A mere glance at the table of contents shows, that the topics discussed are somewhat multifarious, and the work, if deficient in any respects, will probably be found wanting in compactness and systematic arrangement. We hope to find room in our next number, for a more extended notice of it, and an examination of the writer's theories and opinions.

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7. — *Records of Travel.* Boston. Otis, Broaders, & Co. 1838. 12mo. pp. 180.

This unpretending little volume contains a series of extracts from a private journal, kept during a voyage round the Mediterranean. It is written in a pure style, and narrates, in an agreeable manner, the incidents of travel, which befell the author in those classic and venerable regions. The descriptive passages show an eye trained to the observation of scenery

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in nature, and a hand skilled in delineating the impressions made by natural scenery on the mind. There is no attempt to collect and impart novelties in the way of information, or to throw new light on scenes of ancient historic renown. We have no elaborate descriptions of the remains of ancient art, or the miracles of modern ; we have no attempts at philosophical analysis of national character ; no disquisition on literature; and few sketches of manners. But we are entertained with a lively succession of adventures, told in an easy way, like that of an intelligent traveller, amusing his friends, after his return, by the domestic fireside.

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8. — *General History of Civilization in Europe, from the Fall of the Roman Empire to the French Revolution. Translated from the French of* M. Guizot, Professor of History to "La Faculté des Lettres" of Paris, and Minister of Public Instruction. First American from the second English Edition. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 12mo. pp. 346.

We rejoice to see an English translation, respectably executed, of Guizot's lectures on the "History of Civilization in Europe." We know not who the translator is ; but, from the circumstance that his Preface is dated at Oxford, presume that he is among the scholars attached to that University, who, by the attention they have recently paid to French and German letters, as evinced by numerous translations, and works partly original and partly compiled, seem no longer inclined to keep the literature and scholarship of England so exclusively insular, as they have been in former times. Thanks are particularly due to them, and their brethren at Cambridge, for introducing to their countrymen the historical works of Niebuhr, Müller, and other eminent scholars on the continent. On this side of the Atlantic, we are slowly profiting from their labors by the reprints that are occasionally issued. The work now before us amply deserved its presentation to the English and American people. Its author, as is well known, was associated with Cousin and Villemain in delivering courses of lectures at Paris, during several successive years. Their merit attracted crowded audiences, while, to gratify the curiosity of those who were not able to attend, the lectures were published weekly from the notes of stenographers. They were, however, revised by the authors previous to publication, and may

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therefore be considered as authentic. The two other lecturers treated respectively of philosophy and literature; while Guizot confined himself to history, the object of his early and constant attention.

We mention these circumstances, because they account for some peculiarities of manner in the present publication. The work is, in fact, a series of brilliant disquisitions on the history of Europe, drawn up in the most popular form, and in a more rhetorical style, than appears altogether becoming for so grave a subject. There is hardly an attempt at the narration of particular events, but the grouping together of general facts is striking and often picturesque in its effect, and the reasoning, if not always profound, is certainly ingenious. Add to these qualities a perfectly lucid manner, an admirable arrangement of topics, and a keen perception evinced of the distinctive qualities of different institutions and systems of society, and you have an entertaining and instructive book. We can hardly object to some national traits of character in the mode of treating the subject, since they are displayed in such an unconscious and amusing fashion. The writer is a thorough Frenchman. He has a passion for bold and sweeping views and hasty generalizations. The expression too, without being positively arrogant, has an air of easy confidence, of more perfect reliance on the correctness of the opinions advanced, than is altogether warranted by the array of proofs. The reader is sometimes stunned by rhetoric, rather than convinced by sober appeals to his understanding.

This dashing and off-hand mode of speculating on abstract topics strikes us as peculiarly French. It is even more conspicuous in the lectures of Cousin and Villemain, than in the work before us. Here, it is in a great measure excused by the nature of the subject and the limited intentions of the writer. He has aimed at a survey of European history from the highest point of view, where only the most general and prominent facts come into notice. His object was, to arrange these facts in orderly succession, as causes and effects, and to show the bearing of each on his main subject, the progress of European civilization. The limited time allotted made it necessary to go over the ground with great rapidity; and accordingly he travels over the annals of Europe as if equipped with seven-league boots. With hardly a glance at particular events, he seizes on the prominent traits in the history of each century, and the character of the various political and religious institutions, and shows how these

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assisted or retarded the developement of society and of the individual. Owing to this rapid execution, the inductions often rest on a narrow basis of facts, and the writer seems frequently to make perilous leaps from premises to conclusions. His learning, also, appears in a manner strikingly contrasted with the display of painful erudition by the German historians. There is no parade of references, no sifting of authorities, and but little discussion of the conflicting opinions of former writers. But, from the lecturer's unpretending familiarity with the subject, and his easy way of stating a fact as the necessary result of causes previously examined, one can hardly find it in his heart to be skeptical. On the whole, the work deserves high praise as an introduction to the philosophy of history. The writer's views are liberal, and his speculations throw a new and pleasing light on most interesting points in the annals of Europe. We propose soon to recur to the volume, and to treat its subject somewhat at large.

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9. — *How shall I govern my School? Addressed to Young Teachers; and also adapted to assist Parents in Family Government.* By E. C. Wines, Author of "Two Years and a Half in the Navy," and "Hints on a System of Popular Education." Philadelphia: W. Marshall & Co. 12mo. pp. 309.

Most writers on education have some hobby of their own, which they ride with an exclusive fondness for that particular exercise. The views of such men are consequently partial and one-sided. Founded on the consideration of one part of human nature, or upon some theory of improvableness or perfectibility, their schemes are generally very ingenious on paper, but wholly unsuccessful in application. It often happens that very experienced teachers fall into mistakes of this kind; and speculative writers on education rarely escape them. But the author of the book with the rather *questionable* title, given above, is remarkably free from vague enthusiasm and theoretical projects. Taking human nature as he finds it, scrutinizing its powers, passions, and weaknesses with the eye of a philosopher, he applies the results of this scrutiny to the government of a school, in a plain, practical, and common-sense manner. He discusses his subject methodically, beginning with some exceedingly sound considerations upon the responsibility of

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the teacher's office, and the inadequate honors and rewards which he must expect. He then proceeds to the plan and principles of government, which ought to be settled in the outset. In this part of the discourse Mr. Wines shows himself to be a very judicious guide. The moral preparation which the teacher should himself undergo, the moral means he should make use of, the modes of impressing truth and a sense of duty on the scholars' minds, the methods of correcting faults and removing false and pernicious notions from them, are considered with an earnest sense of their great importance to the prosperity of a school, and the well-being of the pupils. In the next place, follows a sensible view of "punishment," which, the author says, should be sparingly applied, but by no means wholly disused ; and the last section is devoted to the importance of the teacher's knowing how to control the public opinion of his school, and turn it to the side of virtue.

In discussing these several topics, Mr. Wines shows himself a calm and dispassionate observer. He has no optimism, — no ultraism of any kind. He is willing to use all the means which are adapted to the weaknesses as well as the strength of human nature, particularly the human nature of children. A high moral and religious tone pervades the book, undebased by any admixture of cant. The style is animated, but a little diffuse ; the same sentiment is frequently repeated, under a slight modification of expression. With this exception, it is an excellent model for discussions on similar subjects. It is warm, free and impressive. Take it for all in all, the book is one of the best in the whole range of the literature of education.

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10. — *Notes on the Western States ; containing Descriptive Sketches of their Soil, Climate, Resources, and Scenery.* By James Hall, Author of "Border Tales," &c. &c. Philadelphia : Harrison Hall. 12mo. pp. 304.

Though furnished with a new title, this work is but another edition of Judge Hall's "Statistics of the West," published in 1836. Our readers may remember, that, in a former Number, we commented at some length on certain erroneous, and otherwise exceptionable matter, contained in the Preface to that publication. There can be no doubt, we presume, on the part of any one who read our animadversions, that they were not only completely borne out, but absolutely called for, by the facts. But if it is hard to guess beforehand *furens quid fœmina possit*, conjecture is often equally at fault respecting the doings

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of an angry author. Had we been asked to name the course to which Judge Hall would probably betake himself, when we had exposed some of the errors of his imperfect information and hasty writing, we should have replied, that, if he did not see fit to correct them, and thank us for our aid in doing it, which would have been the best way of proceeding, he would have taken the next best, and, by saying nothing about the matter, have suffered it to pass tranquilly into oblivion, as many writers of more note have done, when they found themselves in a perplexity. And this expedient Judge Hall might have adopted with the better grace, as his work was essentially ephemeral;—we do not say from its degree of merit, but from the very showing of its title, which announced the object of the book to be, to give the Statistics of the West at a particular period. The last method, certainly, which we should have imagined he would hit upon, would be to recall public attention to his lapse, by a simple repetition of the blunders of which he had been convicted.

Yet, little as it could have been anticipated, this is the method he has chosen. He has now reprinted the Preface to the former publication, with the insertion of a few unimportant lines, (ten or twelve, in the whole,) and two or three trifling alterations, including the correction of a grammatical error, which we had pointed out. He has not so much as professed to make an attempt to defend the erroneous statements which we censured, and of course has afforded us no opportunity to do any thing in the way of argument, unless indeed we should follow his rather odd example, and reprint our comments, as he has reprinted the matter which occasioned them. Our readers, we suppose, will be as well satisfied with a reference to the place where they may be found; which is, the 234th page of our XLVth volume.

To the reprinted Preface in question, the author has appended a couple of paragraphs of new matter, which serve to give further expression to his discontent. In other respects, they are of no significance, except as containing his avowal, that, before republishing his Preface, he had read our remarks upon it, above referred to; a fact, which on worse authority we should have been disinclined to credit. The language is vastly spirited, no doubt. But such is not unapt to be the strain of a person who finds himself in a position of discomfort. Does Judge Hall remember a line of Crabbe? There is philosophy in it; it reads,

"He put his anger on to hide his shame."

But it is pity that so meritorious a writer as Judge Hall should ever be either much ashamed or much incensed. He

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has rendered service to the literature of the country, as it has repeatedly given us pleasure to declare. If he would only be more careful to avoid inaccuracies, and less disturbed when he is found to have fallen into those

> "quas aut incuria fudit
> Aut humana parum cavit natura,"

we make bold to say, that, on a twofold account, he would appear before the public to more advantage. And meanwhile, as we have fallen upon one poet, whose wisdom contemplated many of the emergencies of life, we will fain be indebted, in closing, to another such, for a few words, which with a little alteration might be made pertinent to different occasions, from that familiar one for which he designed them;

> "What then remains, but well our power to use,
> And keep good humor still, whate'er we lose;
> And trust me, dear, good humor will prevail,
> When airs, and flights, and screams, and scolding fail."

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11. — *Passages in Foreign Travel.* By Isaac Appleton Jewett. Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown. 2 vols. 12mo.

We have suffered these beautiful volumes to lie by us, because we were unwilling to dismiss them with mere general phrases of commendation, and yet we saw no medium between this course, and that of enriching our pages with copious extracts, which neither in the last Number nor the present have we found space to do. Without being absolutely what one would call a philosophical observer, — which we dare say, however, he will become with the advantage of more years, — that is to say, when he has grown more dull, — Mr. Jewett has at least shown, that he had a quick eye and a sagacious comprehension for the many notable things which came under his view, on the surface of foreign society; and, without having absolutely the touch of a poet or a painter, he has undoubtedly described with an uncommon vivacity and grace of style, and brought his reader most agreeably to the knowledge of, many facts, which for their importance or their curiosity well deserve to be known. Happy the traveller, be he but right-minded and capable of a just appreciation of his privilege, who goes to see the world at that jocund age when a good dinner is a luxury and a bad one a joke, and wild roads and damp sheets have no terrors, and abbeys and castles, and parks and saloons, are seen in just the same lights and shadows, the same awfulness

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and witchery, the same glory and deliciousness, that had been about them in dreams; and lucky the reader, who may set himself down to a book by a writer of genius and enthusiasm, who at that age has gone on his way rejoicing through the old seats of power and magnificence, the haunted scenes of story and song.

Mr. Jewett is not very much of a sentimentalist. We think we might have liked him better, had he been a little more tainted with that too much discredited infirmity. Music and spectacles are his great delight; the French *cuisine* has strong charms for him; and we are not sure that his taste for the elegances of artificial society does not wrong a little that relish for some better things, which, however, well vindicates its right to be heard in not a few parts of his fascinating volumes. He loved Paris; who can wonder? We should have been glad to have him speak rather more decidedly of some of its abominations, which it fell in his way to mention. But though he has not found himself inclined to act the censor as much as we might have wished, we remember nothing in his volumes which could fairly be construed into any compromise of the stern displeasure due to those monstrosities of a depraved condition of social life, some of which he has occasion to depict.

With all his liking for foreign splendor, Mr. Jewett is a proud and hopeful American, to a degree sufficient, we should think, to satisfy the most exactingly patriotic among his compatriot readers. His work is issued in a style, which shows that he well knew what a highly cultivated eye requires in the external appliances of book-making. The American press has scarcely ever done its office with a more rich and tasteful elegance.

Mr. Jewett has come back to America, and gone back to Ohio. We are too much his well-wishers to desire that his literary may prejudice his legal pursuits; but, on the other hand, we are too sincere friends to the literature of the country, not to desire earnestly that he may find leisure to render it some of those services of which he is so eminently capable.

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12. — *Sketches of a New England Village, in the Last Century.* Boston: James Munroe & Co. 12mo. pp. 110.

This little book has been suffered to make its way too silently; but its way it has made and will make, notwithstanding. It deserved, not a flourish of trumpets, but some softer

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prelude, say of flutes and pastoral reeds. We account it one of the sweetest specimens yet produced of a style of composition, which our women of genius will perhaps vindicate for their own *peculium*, or in which, at least, he who will compete with them must be a brave and bright adventurer. It pretends to no great continuity of story, though it contains stories as well compacted as could be desired; and one especially, that of Grace, a tale of as much simple pathos as it would be easy to find elsewhere. Some of the characters are true representatives of classes in New England, as every one may know who has been conversant with its people; though it is by no means every eye that sees them for what they are, till they have been sketched by some such pencil as our author's. Others of the group, as the serving-woman Hannah, and the melancholy schoolmaster, are so much out of the common course, that, if it were less notorious that extraordinary oddities have their large place in this system of things, we should be doubtful respecting the fidelity of the likeness. If the tone of the book is plaintive, its plaint is melodious and soothing. It is apt aliment for the mood which says, "Give me some music; see that it be sad."

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13. — *Democracy in America, by Alexis de Tocqueville, Avocat à la Cour Royale de Paris. Translated by* Henry Reeve, Esq.; *with an Original Preface and Notes*, by John C. Spencer, Counsellor at Law. New York: George Dearborn & Co. 8vo. pp. 464.

Shortly after the publication of M. de Tocqueville's work upon this country, we took occasion to treat its contents at length.* We then expressed our opinion of it as "by far the most philosophical, ingenious, and instructive work, which had been produced in Europe on the subject of America." Of course, we welcome cordially its appearance among us in a form, which opens its contents to our whole reading community. The present publication is a reprint of a translation made in England, with a short Preface by the American editor, who has also appended about twenty pages of Notes. These are not designed to furnish "comments on the theoretical views of the author," an attempt which could have led to little less, on the part of a competent and independent inquirer, than the composition of a new work on the same subjects, but are "confined, with very few exceptions, to the correction of what

* See *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII, pp. 178 et seq.

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appeared to be misapprehensions of the author in regard to some matters of fact, or some principles of law, and to explaining his meaning where the translator has misconceived it." We repose on the authority of the work with more confidence than ever, when we see how little it contains, which so acute and well-informed an annotator as Mr. Spencer found to require correction or explanation. And we earnestly wish, that it may come into extensive circulation among our countrymen; agreeing as we do with its editor, that "the people described by a work of such a character should not be the only one in Christendom unacquainted with its contents," and that it cannot fail to promote, with American readers, "a more thorough knowledge of their frames of government, and a more just appreciation of the great principles on which they are founded."

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14. — *The Life and Adventures of Black Hawk, with Sketches of Keokuk, the Sac and Fox Indians, and the late Black Hawk War.* By Benjamin Drake. Cincinnati: George Conclin. 12mo. pp. 252.

This well-written volume is disgraced by a scarecrow wood-cut, in the frontispiece, bearing the name of Black Hawk, and by the unpardonable paper on which it is printed. If the reader can overcome his repugnance to the repulsive externals, he will find matter for interest and amusement. The incidents in the life of Black Hawk are well told, and much important historical information, concerning the intercourse between the United States and the Western tribes, is appropriately intermingled.

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15. — *The Deserted Bride and other Poems.* By George P. Morris. New York: Adlard & Saunders. 8vo. pp. 80.

The poems of Colonel Morris have enjoyed so wide a newspaper celebrity, that it would be affectation in us to pretend to introduce them to our readers. Many of them, moreover, have been united to Mr. Russell's music, and said and sung in the saloons of the fashionable world. Their author has now collected them in a volume, which, for elegant type and luxurious paper, is surpassed by no book hitherto issued from the American press. We intended to invite him to speak for himself in our columns, in the "Lines for Music" (pp. 30, 31), but we find ourselves too soon at the end of our sheet.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

ANNUALS.

The American Almanac, and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1839. Boston: Charles Bowen. 12mo. pp. 324.

The Token and Atlantic Souvenir. Edited by S. G. Goodrich. Boston: Otis, Broaders, & Co. 16mo. pp. 294.

Annual Announcement of Jefferson Medical College, for the Session of 1838–9. Catalogue of Students and Graduates for the Session of 1837–8. Philadelphia: A. Waldie. 12mo. pp. 15.

Annual Circular and Catalogue of the Woodward College, and of the High School; with an Address by the President. Cincinnati: Pugh & Dodd. 8vo. pp. 33.

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS.

Biographical Sketches. By John McDonald, (of Poplar Bridge, Ross Co., Ohio.) Cincinnati: E. Morgan & Son. Columbus: I. N. Whiting. 12mo.

BOTANY.

A Flora of North America; containing abridged Descriptions of all the known Indigenous and Naturalized Plants, growing North of Mexico, arranged according to the Natural System. By John Torrey and Asa Gray. Vol. I. Part I. New York: G. & C. Carvill & Co. Philadelphia: Carey & Hart. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 184.

EDUCATION.

French Practical Teacher. A Complete Grammar of the French Language, on the Progressive System; by which the Acquisition of Writing and Speaking French is made easy. By Mons. B. F. Bugard. Boston: 1838. 12mo. pp. 480.

We recommend this Book to the attention of all teachers and students of the French Language. It is the best of its kind which has ever fallen in our way; and we should think it impossible for any one of tolerable capacity to go through it faithfully, without a very competent knowledge of French. The author's plan is to teach both theoretically and practically. The student is taken through a series of rules and exercises, in which no part of speech is employed, until its use has been fully stated and illustrated. The Rules are numbered, and there are abundant references to them by figures, in the Exercises. At the end of the book is a Vocabulary of all the words used in the Exercises, so that no other Dictionary is wanted in writing them. The whole plan is carried through with great care and fidelity. *Fabricando fit faber*, is the author's motto; and he has produced a work, calculated, we think, to facilitate in no ordinary degree the student's labor in acquiring the French Language.

Progressive French Grammar and Exercises. Philadelphia: Kay & Brother. pp. 251.

Fireside Education. By the Author of "Peter Parley's Tales."

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New York: F. J. Huntington. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 396.

Graphics; a Manual of Drawing and Writing. For the Use of Schools and Families. By Rembrandt Peale. Third Edition, improved. Philadelphia: J. Whetham. 12mo. pp. 96.

Historical, Geographical, and other Lessons from Memory; compiled by the Principal of Friends' Infant School. Philadelphia: Henry Perkins.

A Complete System of Practical Book-keeping. By Nicholas Harris, A. M., Principal of the Hartford Commercial Academy. Hartford. 8vo. pp. 224.

Remarks on Teaching Penmanship. By B. F. Foster, Author of "The Art of Rapid Writing," "Elementary Copy Books," &c. &c. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 12mo. pp. 11.

HISTORY.

Connecticut Historical Collections, containing a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc., relating to the History and Antiquities of every Town in Connecticut, with Geographical Descriptions. Illustrated by 190 Engravings. By John Warren Barber. Second Edition. New Haven: Durril & Peck. 8vo. pp. 500.

Historical Sketches of the Origin and Progress of the Massachusetts Medical Society. By Ebenezer Alden, M. D., Fellow of the Society. Read at the Annual Meeting of the Society, May 30th, 1838. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 8vo.

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Vol. VII. of the Third Series. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 8vo. pp. 304.

History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic. By William H. Prescott. Third Edition. Boston: C. C. Little & Co. 3 vols. 8vo.

LAW.

An Abridgment of the American Law of Real Property. By Francis Hilliard, Counsellor at Law. In 2 vols. Vol. I. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 519.

Reports of Cases, argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of the State of Maine. By John Shepley, Counsellor at Law. (Maine Reports, Vol. XIII.) Hallowell: Glazier, Masters, & Smith. 8vo. pp. 496.

Reports of Cases, argued and determined in the Supreme Court of Judicature of New Hampshire. Vol. VII. Nos. 2 and 3. Concord: Marsh, Capen, & Lyon. 8vo.

View of the Land Laws of Pennsylvania, with Notices of its Early History and Legislation. By Thomas Sergeant, Esq. Philadelphia: J. Kay, Jr. 8vo.

Reports of Cases, argued and determined in the Court of Appeals of Maryland. By Richard W. Gill and John Johnson. Vol. VII. Baltimore: W. & J. Neal. 8vo.

Supplement to the Revised Statutes of Massachusetts. Edited by Theron Metcalf. No. 3, 1838. Boston: Dutton & Wentworth. 8vo.

Reports of Cases, argued and determined in the Supreme Judicial

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Court of Massachusetts. By Octavius Pickering, Counsellor at Law. Vol. XX. No. 1. Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 414.

The most important Parts of Blackstone's Commentaries reduced to Questions and Answers. By Asa Kinne. New York: W. E. Dean. 8vo. pp. 180.

MEDICINE, ANATOMY, AND SURGERY.

A Popular Treatise on Medical Philosophy; or an Exposition of Quackery and Imposture in Medicine. By Caleb Ticknor, M. D., Author of "The Philosophy of Living." New York: Harper & Brothers. 12mo. pp. 273.

An Elementary Treatise on Midwifery; or, Principles of Tokology and Embryology. By Alf. A. L. M. Velpeau, M. D., &c. &c. Translated from the French, with Notes, by Charles D. Meigs, M. D., Lecturer on Midwifery and the Diseases of Women and Children. Second Edition. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 592.

Cases of Autoplastie. By Thomas D. Mütter, M. D., Lecturer on Surgery, Fellow of the College of Physicians of Pennsylvania, &c. &c. (Extracted from the American Journal of the Medical Sciences.) With two Plates. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 16.

An Essay on the Relation between the Respiratory and Circulating Functions. By Charles Hooker, M. D. Read at the Annual New Haven County Meeting of the Connecticut Medical Society, April 12th, 1838. Republished from the Boston Medical and Surgical Journal. Boston. 8vo. pp. 47.

A Treatise on the Nature and Cure of Prolapsus Uteri, and other Affections of the Pelvic Viscera. By R. Thompson, M. D. Columbus. 12mo. pp. 38.

A Report, founded on the Cases of Typhoid Fever, or the common Continued Fever of New England, which occurred in the Massachusetts General Hospital, from the Opening of that Institution in September 1821, to the End of 1835. Communicated to the Massachusetts Medical Society in June, 1838. By James Jackson, M. D., late Attending Physician in that Hospital. Boston: Whipple & Damrell. 8vo. pp. 95.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Philosophy of Common Sense. Practical Rules for the Promotion of Domestic Happiness; containing Rules for the Married; Essay on the Relations of Masters and Mistresses and Domestics; Rules for Moral Education; Essay on Fashions, and on the Pernicious Effects of the Use of Corsets; with various other Fugitive Articles. By M. Carey. Philadelphia. 18mo. pp. 170.

American Liberties and American Slavery, Morally and Politically Illustrated. By S. B. Treadwell. Rochester, N. Y.: John S. Taylor. Boston: Weeks, Jordan & Co. 12mo. pp. 466.

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The Credit System in France, Great Britain, and the United States. By H. C. Carey, Author of "Principles of Political Economy." Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 8vo. pp. 130.

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Proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Conventions of American Women, held in Philadelphia, May 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1838. Philadelphia: Merrihew & Gunn. 8vo. pp. 18.

Letters from Nahant. By an Editor. Boston. 12mo. pp. 51.

First Supplement to the large Catalogue of Books, belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia, including the Importation of May, 1838. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 48.

Report upon the Finances and Internal Improvements of the State of New York. New York: John S. Taylor.

Maternal Love; or Letters addressed to a Companion of her Childhood, by a Mother. New York: John S. Taylor. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 18mo. pp. 62.

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responding Member of the Institute of France, &c. Philadelphia: 8vo. 1838.

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The Orphean Lyre; a Collection of Glees and Catches, suitable for Clubs, Social Music Parties, etc., selected from the Works of the most celebrated Composers, Calcott, Horsley, Paxton, Stevens, Bennett and others. Arranged with Piano-Forte Accompaniments. Third Series. Boston: Parker & Ditson. 4to. pp. 100.

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NEW PERIODICAL.

The South Western Journal; a Magazine of Science, Literature, and Miscellany, published Semi-monthly. By the Jefferson College and Washington Lyceum. No. 1. Natchez, Miss. Newcomb, Crail, & Lee. 4to. pp. 16.

NOVELS, TALES, AND ROMANCES.

A Tale of the Huguenots, or Memoirs of a French Refugee Family, translated and compiled from the Original Manuscripts of James Fontaine, by one of his Descendants. With an Introduction by F. L. Hawks, D. D. New York: John S. Taylor. 12mo. pp. 266.

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Clermont Falconer; or The Memoirs of a Young Whig. Baltimore: N. Hickman. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 229 and 192.

Simple Sketches. By the Rev. John Todd. Edited by I. Brace, Jr. Northampton: J. H. Butler. 18mo. pp. 304.

The Clockmaker; or Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville. Second Series. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, & Blanchard. 12mo. pp. 220.

ORATIONS AND ADDRESSES.

Oration delivered at the Democratic Republican Celebration of the 62d Anniversary of the Independence of the United States, in the City of New York, 4th of July, 1838. By Edwin Forrest, Esq. Published at the Request of the Democratic Republican Committee. New York: Jared W. Bell. 8vo. pp. 24.

Address to the Graduates of the Medical College of Georgia, delivered April 2d, 1838. By the Rev. Elijah Sinclair, One of the Board of Trustees. (Published by Order of the Board of Trustees.) Augusta, (Ga.) 8vo. pp. 11.

An Oration pronounced before the Citizens of Bangor, on the 4th of July, 1838, the 62d Anniversary of the American Independence.

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By Frederic H. Hedge. Published at the Request of the City Government. Bangor: S. S. Smith. 8vo. pp. 38.

An Address delivered before the Senior Class in Divinity College, Cambridge, Sunday Evening, 15th July, 1838. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Boston: James Munroe & Co. 8vo. pp. 31.

An Address to the People of New Jersey, on the Subject of Common Schools. 1838. pp. 16.

Funeral Oration, delivered at the Capitol in Washington, over the body of the Hon. Jonathan Cilley, with a full Account of the late Duel, comprising many Facts never before published. Embellished with an elegant Likeness of Mr. Cilley. New York: Wiley & Putnam. 8vo. pp. 44.

An Oration, delivered before the Literary Societies of Dartmouth College, July 24th, 1838. By Ralph Waldo Emerson. Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown. 8vo. pp. 30.

Address, delivered by the Rev. D. P. Bestor, before the Members of the Greensborough Lyceum, on the 4th of July, 1838.

An Address delivered before the Peace Society of Amherst College, July 4th, 1838. By the Rev. Rufus P. Stebbins. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams. 8vo. pp. 30.

A Discourse on the Aborigines of the Valley of the Ohio, in which the Opinions of the Conquest of that Valley by the Iroquois, or Six Nations, in the Seventeenth Century, supported by Cadwallader Colden of New York, Governor Pownall of Massachusetts, Dr. Franklin, the Hon. De Witt Clinton, of New York, and Judge Haywood of Tennessee, are examined and contested; to which are prefixed some Remarks on the Study of History, prepared at the Request of the Historical Society of Ohio. By William Henry Harrison, of North Bend. Cincinnati. 8vo. pp. 51.

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William Tell; a Drama in Five Acts. From the German of Schiller. Providence: B. Cranston & Co. 12mo. pp. 120.

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Class Poem. 1838. 8vo. pp. 45.

Dental Hygeia. A Poem on the Health and Preservation of the Teeth. By Solyman Brown, A. M., Author of Dentalogia, &c. New York: Published for the Proprietors. 12mo. pp. 54.

A Poem, pronounced before the Ciceronian Club, and other Citizens of Tuscaloosa, (Ala.) July 4th, 1838. By Alexander B. Meek, Esq. Tuscaloosa: Published by the Ciceronian Club. 12mo. pp. 35.

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course delivered in the Chapel of Amherst College, March 11th, 1836, and published by Request of the Students. By H. Humphrey, D. D. Amherst: J. S. & C. Adams. 8vo. pp. 30.

A Treatise on the relative Importance and Mode of Baptism: comprising two Discourses, delivered in the Congregational Church, Rutland. March, 1838. By William Mitchell, Pastor of the Church. Windsor: pp. 48.

The Mercies of the Lord. A Sermon by the Rev. Moses Marcus, B. D. New York: Protestant Episcopal Press. 8vo.

The Probability of the Second Coming of Christ about A. D. 1843. Shown by a Comparison of Prophecy with History, up to the present Time, and an Explanation of those Prophecies which are yet to be fulfilled. By I. Litch, Minister of the Gospel. Boston: D. H. Ela. 16mo. pp. 204.

A Sermon addressed to the Second Presbyterian Congregation, in Albany, March 4th, 1838, the Sabbath after Intelligence was received that the Hon. Jonathan Cilley, Member of Congress, from Maine, had been murdered, in a Duel with the Hon. Wm. J. Graves, Member from Kentucky. By William B. Sprague, D. D., minister of said Congregation. Albany: 1838. pp. 15.

The Gospel worthy of all Acceptation; or the Duty of Sinners to believe in Jesus Christ. By the Rev. Andrew Fuller. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 18mo. pp. 106.

The Sixth Report of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, presented by the Executive Committee, April 27th, 1838, &c. &c. New York: pp. 68.

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Selumiel; or a Visit to Jerusalem, and the most interesting Scenes in and around it. American Sunday School Depository. Boston: 18mo. pp. 219.

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A Sermon preached before the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, at the Close of a Second Century from their Charter Incorporation, Boston, June 4th, 1838, being the Occasion of their 200th Anniversary. By Samuel K. Lothrop, Minister of the Church in Brattle Street, Boston. Boston: Weeks, Jordan, & Co. 8vo. pp. 36.

The Nature and Extent of Religious Liberty. A Sermon preached at the Church in Brattle Square, June 17th, 1838. Boston: I. R. Butts. 8vo. pp. 19.

Woman as She should be. By the Rev. Hubbard Winslow. Also, Woman in her Social and Domestic Character. By Mrs. John Sandford. Boston: T. H. Carter. 12mo. pp. 175.

This is one of the many publications, good and bad, which have been called out by some recent female agitation on matters of religion and philanthropy. It is made up of a reprint of Mrs. Sandford's work on "Woman,"—a tolerably good book, but thought worthy of a new edition probably rather for its doctrine than its excellence,—and three discourses originally delivered by their author, in a course of evening lectures. The view which they take, may be called that of the conservative male party in opposition to the radical female. They set it forth fairly and ably, and with a gentle energy of manner well adapted to secure attention; though we should have been glad to see the productions of a city pulpit more free from the lesser literary *maculæ*. Mr. Winslow takes the strongest ground on the question at issue; but, to show that he does not undervalue the sex, he treats in a highly satisfactory style the subject of female education, pleading for it under the four heads of Health, Industry, Cultivated Intellect, and Religion, in a tone so earnest, and with views so enlarged and elevated, that even the most inveterate of the agitators must read him with some relentings, and believe that he does not mean, after all, to deprive woman of all her rights, or cheat the world of all the blessings she can impart.

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A Trip to Boston, in a Series of Letters to the Editor of the United States' Gazette. By the Author of "Two Years and a Half in the Navy." Boston: C. C. Little & James Brown. 16mo. pp. 224.

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